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PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.¹

IX.

(The Greek Aorist.)

A PROBLEM of great interest and difficulty is connected with the origin of the aorist in *s* or *σ*. The explanation I offer rests on three propositions. 1. The indicative active of the *s* aorist has the personal terminations of the perfect and consequently, as I will show, is not an inherited form, but created in Graeco-Italian after the pattern of that tense. 2. The point of departure for this creation is to be found in a *s* subjunctive and a *s* optative formed from an unthematic aorist and existing, it would appear, in all or most Indo-European languages. These *s* moods allied themselves with an ancient *s* infinitive, so as to constitute a defective paradigm of *s* forms which invited completion by a corresponding indicative. 3. The *s* subjunctive, which was originally inflected with a short vowel, was in meaning a future as well as a subjunctive. At a very early period most dialects of Graeco-Italian adopted a double inflection, *i.e.* both with a short vowel and a long, reserving the older short form for the future meaning.

In this paper I propose to examine the *σ* aorist in Greek on the assumption of the truth of these three propositions, and if it shall appear that by their aid many difficulties can be cleared away and a general and consistent view obtained, much will have been done towards establishing their correctness. But first I will adduce a few considerations in their support based on a comparison of Greek and Latin.

1. It is past question that in Latin the endings of the *s* aorist are identical with

those of the perfect. In the Greek of historical times the identity of the two is equally complete (putting aside the necessary divergence in the dual) except that the third plural of the aorist ends in *-av*, that of the perfect in *-ασι*. The account however which I have given in an earlier note of the formation of *μέμᾱσι* and *μέμασαν* shows that they are only differentiations of a common original *μεμας*. The termination *-av* was assigned to the perfect in its narrative meaning, and only later became part of the pluperfect as a distinct tense, while *-ασι* from its very formation was identified with the presential signification which alone survived in the perfect of historical Greek. But as the endings of the perfect in the 2nd person singular and the 1st and 2nd persons plural, as they appear in the later language, are not original, but stand for earlier forms, my theory asserts that these earlier forms once belonged to the aorist. Not only does comparison with the Latin tense show this, but some evidence for it may be drawn from Greek itself. If this view be correct, it is evident that the *s* aorist is Graeco-Italian in itself: at least no identical formation is known to exist in any other language.

2. The imperfect conjunctive in Latin shows an *s* form where the *s* must be modal and cannot indicate a tense. No one, so far as I know, has ever conjectured that there was an original *s* indicative corresponding to *essem* (whether from *sum* or *edo*) or to *ferrem*. It is indeed open to question whether they are *s* subjunctives or *s* optatives. But that point I reserve for future

¹ Continued from Vol. V. p. 451.

discussion, treating in the meantime all the Latin forms in *-em -es -et* as long vowelled subjunctives. *Amarem, monerem* &c. are formations identical with *essem* &c.: they are *s* subjunctives from an unthematic present indicative, and consequently, like a Greek present subjunctive, possess the 'progressive' meaning, as Mr. Monro calls it, which is distinctive of the present stem. If a past had been formed from them, it must have been an imperfect and not an aorist. Of these imperfect subjunctives, there is one, *irem*, coming from a present stem, and three, *starem darem forem*, from lost unthematic aorists, which are of especial importance. They show that the same modal *s* existed in Greek as in Latin. If we transliterate *stares* into Greek according to the morphological laws of the language, we get *στής*. Similarly *irem* gives *είω* or *ίω*, which in its short-vowelled form exists in *ἵομεν*. If these forms are rightly correlated it follows that *δώω* and *φύω* stand for *δώσω* and *φύσω*, which I shall hereafter show are legitimately represented in Latin by *dārem* and *fōrem*, explaining at the same time how they, like *starem*, came to lose their aoristic meaning. If *στήω*, *δώω* and *φύω* are formed with a modal *σ*, the same scheme of formation must apply to all verbs of the same type, to *βήω*, *θήω*, *άνήω*, *γνώω* &c., and to the subjunctives of the first and second aorists passive. Nor can we stop here, for it follows that *σταίην*, *θείην* &c. stand for *στασίην*, *θεσίην* &c., a view corroborated by the invariable retention of the *iota*. It is difficult to see why the *σ* character of these moods has not been generally recognized. It has always been known that *εἶδέω* (*videro*) and *εἶδείην* (*viderim*) represent an original *εἰδέσω* and *εἰδεσίην*. To these forms *ἑστῶμεν*, *ἑσταίην*, *τεθναίην*, *τετλαίην* present an evident analogy and urgently suggest the loss of a *σ* not only in themselves but in *σταίην* and the rest. But the *σ* subjunctives and optatives which we have been considering could not have given birth to the *σ* aorist. The continued existence of the unthematic indicative was an effectual bar. In order that the new indicative might be formed it was necessary that the original indicative without *σ* should disappear.

3. My third proposition, that the subjunctive in *σ* was not merely subjunctive but had a distinctly future meaning, is, I think, fully established by the arguments of Brugmann (*M. U.* v. 3, p. 58), and by those of Zimmer (*K. Z.* v. 30, p. 113). But Brugmann appears to be wrong in maintaining that a form *πραξίω* would in Greek not lose the *ι* after

the *ξ*. There is not much evidence in either direction, but towards the end of this paper I shall adduce what seems to be a disappearance of the semivowel under similar circumstances. However another phonetic law shows that the Greek future did not primarily end in *σιω*. The clearly inherited futures from disyllabic stems, *θανέομαι* &c., arose, it is obvious, from *θανέσιομαι* and not from *θανεσιόμαι*; otherwise early Attic must have retained *θανεῖομαι* (*vid. Johannsen, Verb. Cont.*, p. 215).

The proof I have given of the existence of *σ* subjunctives from unthematic stems, combined with the recognition of the future sense of the mood, suggests that *χέω*, Homeric *χεῖω*, stands for *χεύσω*, an aorist subjunctive of the type of *στήω*; and this I shall presently show is the case. So *πίομαι* is for *πίσιομαι*, the long vowel revealing the loss of a spirant.

In the light of these observations it becomes less difficult to investigate the origin of the *σ* aorist. As *στήω* (*στήσω*) comes from *ἑστην*, so *λέξω* implies an unthematic aorist indicative *ἔλεγχ*, *ἔλεξ*, *ἔλεκτ κ.τ.λ*. But under the influence of phonetic laws all these unthematic aorists from consonantal stems necessarily perished in the active. In the middle there was no phonetic law to interfere with their existence, and some fifteen or more, such as *ἐδέμην*, *λέκτο*, survive under their original name, while in a slightly disguised shape the unthematic aorist middle is one of the commonest formations of the Greek verb. As the indicative active of the unthematic aorist from consonantal stems has disappeared, we have no direct evidence of the way in which it was inflected. But from such examples as *εἶμι*, *ἵμεν*, and *ἕστην*, *ἕστασαν*, we may conclude that it took the strong form of the stem in the singular and the weak in the plural. Thus the unthematic aorist of the root *πηγ* (*πᾶγ*) ran in the singular *ἔπηγα* (*ἔπηγμ*), *ἔπηξ*, *ἔπη* (*ἔπηκτ*), and in the plural *ἔπᾶγμεν*, *ἔπᾶκτε*, *ἔπᾶγαν* (*ἔπᾶγ*). The future subjunctive and optative (*πήξω*, *πήξεαι*) took in the historical language the strong form, though, if we may judge by *σταίην*, the stem in the optative was originally weakened by the weight of the termination. The combination of these two moods with the *σ* infinitive, *πήξαι*, created in the language an instinct that the *σ* was not modal but characteristic of the tense, and called a new indicative aorist in *σ* into existence. This, it might seem, could have been formed in three ways.

1. The language might have taken the unthematic root aorist as its model for the new tense; but the phonetic laws which

made *ἔλεγα*, *ἔλεξ*, *ἔλεετ* impossible would have destroyed *ἔλεξα*, *ἔλεξς*, *ἔλεετ* even more rapidly.

2. The new tense might have had the endings of the imperfect or thematic root aorist, if that course had not involved the fatal objection that it established no distinction between the unaugmented σ indicative and the short-vowelled σ subjunctive, the only form which existed in many Greek dialects, such words as *ὄρωμεν* being exceptional even in Homer.

3. The only possibility that was left within the limits of Graeco-Italian was to adopt the personal terminations of the perfect.

The analogy of Latin, and the singular group, *ᾔδεισθα*, *ᾔεσθα* and *ᾔσθα*, to which in my next paper I shall devote some attention, indicate that the perfect terminations were originally assumed in their older and inherited forms; but the new tense naturally ran through the same series of changes as the perfect on which it was based.

It is scarcely to be believed that in the earliest times the unthematic root aorist was formed from every consonantal stem; nevertheless the subjunctive, with its future meaning, created from such as did exist, was found so convenient that, if we include the so-called Attic future, it became rigorously universal. The new σ aorist naturally shared in its extension, except in the sixty or seventy cases where the existence of a thematic root aorist made it unnecessary.

As for signification, the new aorist indicative necessarily retained the aoristic meaning which belonged to the moods from which it was formed, but at the same time took over some allied meanings, such as the gnomic use, which were discarded by the perfect under the influences that I have previously discussed. The future was so early detached from the aorist system as a separate tense that it is no wonder it should have lost entirely its aoristic signification, as grammarians assure us is the case. However if we compare such phrases as *οὐ μὴ ποθ' ἄλω* with *οὐ σοὶ μὴ μεθέξομαι ποτε*, it is clear that for some purposes the future remained in classical times the equivalent of the 2nd aorist subjunctive and still kept in some established idioms its old meaning as the short-vowelled subjunctive of the σ aorist. Thus the Attic usage, as formulated in Dawes' canon, would not be arbitrary but rest on an historical basis.

Aorists with a single σ from vowel stems may have existed in early times, but they disappeared, leaving no traces but the few

so-called asigmatic aorists (which all except *ἐπριάμην* come from digammated roots), *ἐπριάμην*, *ἔχενα*, *ἔσσενα*, *ἀλεύσθαι* and *ἔκγα*. Attention to the phonetic laws of the Aeolic and Ionic dialects will show that in *ἔχενα* a σ has been dropped. In Aeolic when a digamma is both preceded and followed by a vowel, the \mathcal{F} is vocalized and coalesces with the preceding vowel into a υ diphthong. But a distinction must be made. This diphthong is of varying quantity, as we might infer from the nature of the case, that is to say, long when its first element is long by nature, as in *Ἀρεῦν*, *ἄρενοι* for *Ἀρήφι*, *ἀρήφιοι*, and short when that element is short, as in the Pindaric *ἀνᾶτα*, which is an anapaest, and Alcaeus' *ἔγχεῖν* (present imperative), which is a dactyl. Thus an Aeolic *ἔχενα* for *ἔχεφα* would have had the middle syllable short and is not the Homeric amphibrach. In Homer all υ diphthongs are long. Those which come before a vowel may be divided into three classes. 1. There are a few survivals of the Aeolic vocalization of the \mathcal{F} before a vowel, where the length of the first element of the diphthong is due either to metrical necessity, as in *αἰῶχοι* (cf. *ἄθῆνατος*), or to the fact that the \mathcal{F} was preceded by a consonant, as in *αἰένων* for *ἀνφέπων* and *εἶαδε* for *ἔσφαδε* or *ἦσφαδε*. 2. Others are common to Ionic (both early and late) and to Attic, as *παῦν*, *κελεύω* &c., and still await investigation. 3. The remainder occur where the diphthong was followed by a lost σ , and are characteristic both of Aeolic and of early Ionic. The loss of a σ is evident wherever the etymology is known, as in *ἀκουή* (Sappho *ἀκούαι*), *οὔρα*, *γείω*, *δεύω* (meaning 'to miss,' the naked stem of which is the adverb *δυσ-*) &c. In later Ionic the υ disappeared, except in the present tense of verbs, where, as in Attic, it was preserved by the diphthong of the future, as in *εὔω*, *αὔω* &c.

These principles account for all the υ diphthongs (not arising from contraction) that occur in Homer, except for that in *σεῖοντο*, which is as exceptional from a grammatical point of view as it is phonetically. It is the only form which implies the existence of a thematic *σεῖω*, just as it is in Ionic the only instance of a vocalized \mathcal{F} between vowels, or, if it be Aeolic, of a vocalized \mathcal{F} of itself lengthening the syllable in which it occurs. Both difficulties disappear together if we might read *σεῖαντο*, or even if we took *σεῖοντο* as a middle aorist from a tense stem with a single σ , as *ἐβήσεντο* comes from one with $\sigma\sigma$.

From this discussion it results that $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\nu\alpha$ is not an Aeolism for $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\acute{\nu}\alpha$, but is the legitimate representation of $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\nu\sigma\alpha$ both in Aeolic (cf. Alcaeus $\chi\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$) and in early Ionic. This view is corroborated by the occurrence of $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\nu\epsilon\nu$ in Archilochus (Bergk 103, Lisb. 61), who is a purely Ionic poet and does not employ the $\acute{\nu}$ except in distinctly Homeric reminiscences. If then $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\nu\alpha$ stands for $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\nu\sigma\alpha$, it is formed from $\chi\epsilon\nu\omega$ ($\chi\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$) the σ subjunctive of a lost thematic aorist, which ran $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\nu\omega$ (Aeolic $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\nu\alpha$, Ionic $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\alpha$), $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\nu\epsilon\upsilon$, $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\nu\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$, $\tilde{\chi}\epsilon\nu$, and which like all similar formations has disappeared, partly on account of the complexity of its inflexion.

The one so-called asigmatic tense that is not digammated is generally admitted to have dropped a sigma and implies a lost unthematic aorist $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\rho\upsilon\nu$, on the apparently anomalous formation of which I have nothing to say.

The reason why vocalic stems rejected the σ aorist is clear. The necessary disappearance of σ between vowels would have thrown such aorists out of relation with those from consonantal stems and would often have created ambiguous forms. Accordingly the language had recourse to a substitute, $\sigma\sigma$, against which these objections did not exist. Some substitute was imperatively needed; for the language had become intolerant of the whole body of unthematic aorists from vowel stems. It retained less than twenty and the old σ futures from so-called disyllabic roots. In the case of some few metathetic verbs it substituted an aorist with thematic endings, as $\tilde{\epsilon}\theta\alpha\nu\sigma\iota\nu$ for $\tilde{\epsilon}\theta\alpha\nu\epsilon\nu$: but this was an exceptional course, and with most stems impossible.

The origin of this $\sigma\sigma$, which of course after a long vowel changes into a single σ , is one of the obscurest points in the morphology of the Greek verb. I reserve the discussion of the question for a later

article, in which I hope to show that a comparison of allied forms such as the Latin amasso and its cognates in some degree clears away the difficulty. However this $\sigma\sigma$ may have come into existence, in the course of the development of the language, it spread generally to all stems ending in a vowel, whether long or short, destroying primarily, as it would appear, the indicative active of the old unthematic aorist.

From stems ending in a short vowel no unthematic aorists survived in any form except $\tilde{\alpha}\pi\sigma\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ and possibly the problematic $\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\alpha$, which however may well be a mere pendant to $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha$.

Stems ending in a long vowel were more conservative. Not to speak of isolated and glossematic instances, or of the persons and moods associated with the four tenses in $\kappa\alpha$, fourteen or fifteen unthematic aorists have maintained their vitality although two of them generally appear in a disguised form, $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ for $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\iota\nu$, and $\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\theta\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ for $\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\theta\iota\nu$. But it is to be remarked that all are neuter except two, $\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\omega\nu$ and $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\iota\nu$, which have by their side causative aorists in σ ; and that of the remaining twelve, six show the same causative aorists. I give the list, $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\lambda\omega\nu$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\rho\alpha\nu$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\tau\eta\nu$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\nu$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\tau\lambda\eta\nu$ (from a verb which, common as it is in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, I cannot find taking a true object accusative more than three times), $\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\theta\eta\nu$ which also is essentially neuter in Homer, and the nine which have duplicate aorists, $\tilde{\epsilon}\beta\eta\nu$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\beta\eta\sigma\alpha$; $\tilde{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\beta\omega\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$; $\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\rho}\alpha\nu$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\rho}\alpha\sigma\alpha$; $\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma\nu\omega\nu$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\alpha$; $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\upsilon\nu$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\upsilon\sigma\alpha$; $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\iota\nu$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\alpha$; $\tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\nu$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha$; $\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\theta\iota\sigma\iota\nu$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\theta\iota\sigma\alpha$ and $\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\theta\omega\nu$; $\tilde{\epsilon}\phi\theta\omega\sigma\alpha$. From this enumeration it appears that the Greek language had established a nexus between a long vowel in the unthematic aorist and a neuter signification; a fact which evidently had much to do with the formation of the 1st and 2nd aorists passive.

F. W. WALKER.

THE YOUTH OF ACHILLES.

IN the last number of the *Classical Review* the story that Achilles in his youth was dressed as a girl is explained by Mr. A. E. Crawley as a reminiscence of a custom of dressing boys as girls at those initiatory ceremonies which lads in primitive society have commonly to undergo at puberty. But

Mr. Crawley adduces no example of such a custom. It is perhaps more likely that the story is a reminiscence of a custom of dressing boys as girls in infancy and for some years afterwards. Such a practice is common in some parts of India, as for example Oudh, and is not unknown in Europe. The con-

verse custom (that of dressing little girls as boys) appears to be rarer, but examples of it are recorded both in India and Europe. The object of both customs appears to be, in general, to avert malignant influences, especially the evil eye, from the child; this is supposed to be effected by concealing the child's sex. But in the case of girls disguised as boys another motive is sometimes at work, as will appear from one of the examples quoted below.

To give instances. 'The practice of dressing boys as girls, and girls as boys to avert the evil eye, is not uncommon in the Konkani, and sometimes this superstition is carried to such an extent, that in order to make the boy appear a genuine girl, even his nose is bored and a nose-ring put into it' (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (1886), p. 123). In Oudh 'it is a common practice to dress little boys as girls to keep off the evil eye' (*Panjab Notes and Queries*, I (1883-1884), No. 869). Again, in Oudh 'it is usual to bore the nose of a long-wished-for son as soon as he is born to turn him into a girl. This is done to avoid *nazar*, to which boys are more liable than girls' (*Ib.* No. 1029). Again, in India (district not specified) 'if a man has lost several male children, the nose of the next born is pierced, and a nose-ring inserted in order that he may be mistaken for a girl, and so passed over by the evil spirits' (*Ib.* No. 219). Again, in India 'it is a common practise (*sic*) in families, when a boy has been born after the death of several children or boys, to dress him up as a girl and give him an opprobrious name....The reverse custom also obtains of dressing up a girl as a boy when a succession of girls have been born, in hopes that the next child may be a boy' (*Panjab Notes and Queries*, 2 (1884-1885), No. 561; cp. Nos. 344, 570). With regard to the observances of similar customs in Europe, a writer in the same journal (Vol. 1, No. 1007) writes: 'Some years ago, when staying in the Engadine, I saw a good deal of an Italian lady, a Milanese so far as I can remember. She had a sweet little child with her, who was about five or six years old, and as it was attired in a kind of knicker-bocker suit, I naturally thought this child was a boy; but one day to my great astonishment, it appeared dressed as a girl. On my expressing my astonishment at the transformation, the mother told me that she had only one grown up son and this little girl living; she had lost several between—all girls. She seemed to think that by clothing this one like a boy she should in some way avert evil from it.'

Condorcet in his infancy was dressed as a girl for eight years or more by his superstitious mother (John Morley, *Miscellanies*, 2, p. 166).

From these instances it appears that the practice of disguising a boy as a girl is especially resorted to when several male children have already died in the family. In such a case the new-comer is regarded as exposed to the same maleficent influences which have already carried off his little brothers, and unusually stringent precautions are thought to be necessary to save him. A list of the superstitious precautions taken by fond parents in these circumstances would alone almost fill a chapter. Now it is at least remarkable that Achilles was said to be the seventh male child of Peleus and Thetis, and that all his six elder brothers had perished before him in their infancy (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 178; *Schol. on Homer*, II. xvi. 37; *Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius*, iv. 816; Ptolemaeus Hephaestionis, vi., in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 152 a 1 sqq., ed. Bekker). It is true that the deaths of the first six children were attributed to the action of the mother herself, who threw them into the fire to kill them or to make them immortal, for the opinions of mythologists were divided as to her motive. Still the tradition of their premature deaths may perhaps be allowed some weight in confirmation of the view advocated above.

In regard to the story just mentioned, that Thetis killed her first six children by putting them on the fire, and that her seventh child, Achilles, was only saved by the interposition of his father Peleus, there can be little doubt that the motive originally attributed to the mother was a beneficent one (*Schol. on Homer*, II. xvi. 37), and that the malignant motive commonly ascribed to her was a mistaken, though very natural, interpretation of this incident in the legend. This is made certain by the stories that Demeter and Iris adopted the very same expedient for rendering immortal the princely infants committed to their care (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 233 sqq.; Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 16).

These stories probably reflect an old custom of passing a new-born child over the flames or keeping it over a smouldering fire for some time, in order to ward off evil influence.

A custom of this sort has prevailed in many parts of the world. Pennant thus describes the custom as it was observed in Scotland last century; 'it has happened that, after baptism, the father has placed a

basket filled with bread and cheese on the pot-hook that impended over the fire in the middle of the room, which the company sit around: and the child is thrice handed across the fire, with the design to frustate all attempts of evil spirits or evil eyes' (Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, 3, p. 383). This custom prevailed in Scotland down to the beginning of the present century at least; sometimes the father leaped across the hearth with the child in his arms (Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides*, ed. 1883, p. 101). In the Tenimber and Timorlaut islands (East Indies) 'in order to prevent sickness, or rather to frighten the evil spirits, the child is, in the first few days, laid beside or over the fire' (J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik-en kroesharige rassen tusschen Sebeles en Papua*, p. 303). The meaning of placing the child 'over the fire' in the passage just quoted is probably explained by the practice, observed in the neighbouring island of Timor, of keeping a smouldering or charcoal fire ('een kolen vuur') for four days under the bed on which the newborn child is laid (*Tijdschrift voor Neerland's Indië*, 7 (1845), p. 280). In New Britain after a birth has taken place they kindle a fire of leaves and fragrant herbs, and the mother takes the child and swings it backwards and forwards through the smoke of the fire, while the friends present utter good wishes. At the same time the *Dukduk* men hold their hands in the smoke or ashes and then lay them on the child's eyes, ears, temples, nose and mouth 'to preserve it from the influence of evil spirits' (R. Parkinson, *In Bismarck-Archipel*, p. 94 sq.). In ancient Mexico a young child was past four times through the fire (Clavigero, *History of Mexico*, trans. by Cullen, 1, p. 317); in Madagascar he was past twice over the fire before he was taken out of the house for the first time (Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, 1, p. 152). In Canton the following ceremony is performed 'at any time during the earlier years of childhood, its object being to render the child courageous and ward off evil. A lump of alum is taken by the mother, and touching the child's forehead, eyes, breast and shoulders with it, she pronounces a certain formula. Then the alum is put into the fire and is supposed to assume the likeness of the creature which the child fears most. Before actually placing the alum into the fire, the mother moves the child several times over the glowing charcoal' (*China Review*, 9 (1880-81), p. 303). The ancient Greek practice of running round the hearth with a child on the fifth or

seventh day after birth (Suidas s.v. ἀμφιδρόμια; Schol. on Plato, *Theaetetus*, p. 160E; Hesychius, s.v. δρομάφιον ἡμαρ) may have been a substitute for the older custom of passing the child over the fire. But the older and ruder rite, after it had been abandoned by the Greeks themselves, seems still to have lingered in their legends of the gods. This was natural, since the life of the gods is merely a reflection of the life of savage man.

J. G. FRAZER.

THE explanation of details in myth as survivals of savage customs may be carried too far. We ought first to meet some point which needs explaining, and then to be sure that our hypothesis is more probable and more natural than any other. The solar mythologists used frequently to account for some ordinary romantic invention by elemental phenomena, of whose presence in the myth no proof could be given. Mr. Crawley, in his paper on 'Achilles in Skyros,' seems to me to strain the anthropological method in the same manner. The date of the legend he does not examine, nor indeed can it be ascertained. It does not occur in the *Iliad*, only the 'consequences of that manœuvre,' in the shape of Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus, are found in the *Odyssey*, but the silence of Homer proves nothing. But nothing needs to be explained. Granting that it was desired to conceal Achilles, the fancy of a story-teller might hide him as a girl among girls. There he would necessarily wear a girl's dress, and be called by a girl's name. Homer, of course, says nothing of initiatory ceremonies at puberty. The traces of such things in Greece are very slight. There is the flogging of the Spartan boys, and their life of retreat, and their stealing. Initiatory tortures are common among Red Indians; the retreat is also familiar in Africa: the boys in retreat have to *steal* their food. See Mr. Macdonald's recent work, published by Mr. Nutt, where Mr. Macdonald does not adduce the Spartan parallel. All torture rites, in the opinion of Mr. Grinnell (see his Pawnee and Black-foot tales), are not initiatory. Mr. Crawley's one Egyptian analogue of the boy in female dress is not enough to prove a point. The change of name would be inevitable, when a boy was really skulking as a girl. In fact, granting that a tale was to be told of Achilles hiding as a girl, the change of dress and name are inevitable.

Take a modern instance. Prince Charles had to hide as a woman among women. He wore a frock of sprigged calico; part of it is preserved in the covers of the MS. *Lyon in Mourning*. He bore a female name, which is known—it was Betty Burke. All this occurred, not in Skyros, but in Skye. Are the anthropologists of the future to decide either that initiatory ceremonies were practised in 1746, or that the adventure of the Prince is an echo of that of Achilles, Skye taking the part of Skyros. A brutal question put by an English officer to Mrs.

Macdonald shows Flora Macdonald as Deidamia—of course this was a mere insolent suggestion. Clearly a young man may wear a girl's dress, and bear a girl's name, with no idea of taboo. Mr. Crawley's explanation is superfluous; granting the circumstances of the legend, all the rest follows naturally. People can invent a story with no basis in custom, though custom suggests stories, when its origin is forgotten, and it has to be explained.

ANDREW LANG.

ANCIENT METRE AND MODERN MUSICAL RHYTHM.

In the year 1785 fragments of a treatise on Rhythm by Aristoxenus of Tarentum, a pupil of Aristotle, were discovered in the library of St. Mark at Venice by Morelli, the custodian. Portions of the same work were known to exist in the Vatican Library, and were mentioned by Doni in 1647, at which time there were three books, only one of which now remains, but they were in such a fragmentary condition that they were looked upon as of little value. Hence, when Meibomius published in 1652 his *Antiquae Musicae Auctores Septem*, he omitted the Rhythm of Aristoxenus, and only published his Harmony, though to the modern musician the former is by far the more valuable of the two treatises. Morelli compared the fragments he discovered at Venice with those in the Vatican, and published them, together with the notes made on them by Michael Psellus in the eleventh century, and thus for the first time they were placed at the disposal of the learned world.

Another important publication was made by Friedrich Bellermann in 1841, of a treatise on music, founded on the writings of Aristoxenus, by an anonymous Greek writer of probably the second century of our era. In this are found fragments of the music of the Graeco-Roman period, consisting of some vocal exercises and six short examples of instrumental notation designed to illustrate the rhythm. These are easily translated into modern notation with the help of Alypius' tables, and though of no artistic value, they throw a good deal of light on the rhythm of Aristoxenus. The anonymous treatise also contains some

germs of that note grouping found in the Gregorian Neumes, the significance of which has of late years been so clearly demonstrated by Dom Pothier and other Benedictines. This book was also known to Meibomius though not published by him: and its value was recognized by Fétis, who mentions it in 1830 in the *Revue Musicale* as 'ce traité infiniment précieux.'

Aristoxenus, who flourished about 300 B.C., was a favorite pupil of Aristotle. His father was an eminent musician who made many visits to Greece, and was acquainted with the most famous of his contemporaries, particularly Socrates and Epaminondas. Aristoxenus himself became one of the greatest of musical theorists, but besides being a musician, he was a man of the widest culture and knowledge, and was a candidate for Aristotle's place in the Lyceum at Athens, which was however obtained by Theophrastus. His works on various subjects reached the number of 453, of which only a few have come down to us. That on rhythm was written from observations made by him on the works of the great poets and musicians of classical Greece. He lived at the time when classical music was beginning to be neglected, and its place was taken by the new dithyrambic music of Philoxenus and Timotheus, which merely aimed at tickling the ears of the ignorant populace, and was devoid of all lofty ideal, and his two treatises on music were written in a vain endeavour to bring back the classical style into popular favour. He and his friends used to cultivate in private the music of Aeschylus and Pindar, and lamented over its decay. 'We do the same,'

he says, 'as the dwellers in Paestum on the Tuscan sea. Formerly Greeks, they have now sunk into barbarism, and have become Tuscans or Romans, and have forgotten their old Greek language and culture. Only one of the ancient Greek festivals is celebrated by them; and this brings back to them their national names and customs, and they depart with tears and lamentations. So will we also, now that the theatre is sunk into barbarism, and the music of the crowd has descended to so low a level, meditate in our narrow circle on the ancient music as it once was.'

The ancient Greek poet was at the same time poet and musician. Aeschylus, Sophocles, Pindar, and all those Greeks whom we have from our school days been accustomed to consider as great poets, were in reality great composers as well, and were considered as such by their contemporaries. The creation of the music and the text of a Greek play was carried out by the same hand, and the two acts were probably simultaneous. Of this practice Richard Wagner, the 'poet-musician,' is a modern representative. Unfortunately none of the Greek classical music has come down to us, with the exception of a somewhat doubtful fragment of the music of the first Pythic ode of Pindar, discovered by Kircher in the library of the monastery of S. Salvatore near Messina about 1650; hence we have no means of knowing what Greek melodies were like, and Aristoxenus himself does not give us a single example.

With the rhythm however, the 'masculine' element of music, as Aristoxenus calls it, the reverse is the case. The texts which we possess of the Greek plays are in reality the texts of their operas or music dramas; and since the rhythm of their music depended on the metre of their words, we

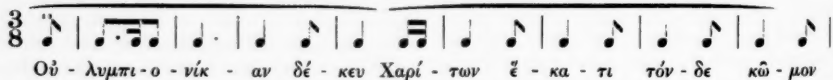
have, with the help of Aristoxenus, the means of knowing with almost absolute precision what the rhythm of their music was: and Rudolph Westphal, through his elucidation of the treatise of Aristoxenus, has shown us that the metrical forms of Greek poetry are almost identical with the rhythmical forms made use of by the greatest modern musicians. The most usual form of colon in modern music is that which contains four simple bars or feet, and Westphal says that this is also the most frequent form in Greek lyric poetry. But in order to break the monotony of a constant succession of tetrapodies, the Greeks intermingled with them dipodies, tripodies, and hexapodies; and modern composers do the same to a limited extent. Bach however introduces more variety of cola into his works than other composers; and in this he approaches the Greek ideal of beauty.

The threefold form of strophe, antistrophe, and epode in Pindar's epinikian odes finds an almost exact counterpart in most of the fugues of Bach's 'Wohltemperirtes Klavier,' the threefold construction of which is strongly marked by the tonality and the full closes. The modern 'sonata' movement has the same form on a very extended scale, the first part and its repetition corresponding with the strophe and antistrophe of the Greeks, and the second part with the epode.

There is not space here to give examples showing the strophic construction of modern music; but a few illustrations of the colon-construction of Greek poetry compared with that of modern music may not be unacceptable.

The ordinary period, consisting of two tetrapodic cola is shown in the following quotations from Pindar and Beethoven.

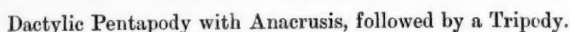
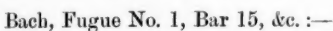
Pindar, *Olympia* iv. vv. 14, 15, Gildersleeve's edition:—



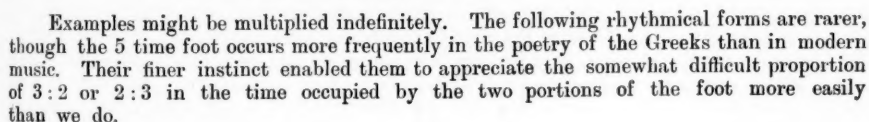
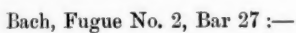
Beethoven, Sonata No. 14, allegretto (in $\frac{3}{8}$ time for the sake of comparison. This produces no alteration in the musical effect):—



Pindar, *Pythia* ix. line 7 :—



Olympia viii. Epode a:—



Paeonic Dipodies.

Olympia ii. Line 8:—



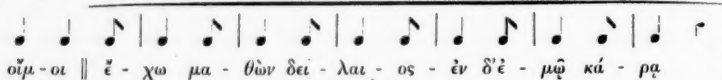
R. Wagner, *Tristan and Isolde*, Act. III. Sc. ii. :—



The dotted line across the staff shows the division of the bar into thesis and arsis. Wagner in the above example divides his bar in the ratio of 3:2 while in the passage from Pindar it seems to be 2:3.

A preliminary foot standing by itself at the beginning of the strophe before the commencement of the regular rhythm, called *epiphonema* by Westphal, is not at all uncommon in modern music. It differs from the anacrusis in that it is composed of a whole foot, while the anacrusis is only the weak portion of the foot.

Sophocles, *Antigone* 1271 :—

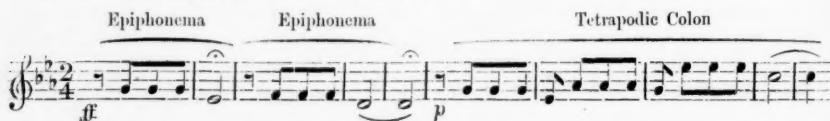


Bach, Fugue No. 19 (Tripodic Trochaic Rhythmopoeia) :—



Beethoven produces an overpowering effect in his third and fifth symphonies by the use of the epiphonema. In each case he gives it double force by repetition, and in the fifth symphony he uses it with anacrusis and with a pause; the 'irrational' time duration of Aristoxenus.

Beethoven, Symphony in C Min., No. 5 :—



Many examples of epiphonema can also be found in vocal music, where the accompaniment has a single foot before the voice enters, *e.g.* Beethoven's 'Vom Tode.'

Aristoxenus gave no musical examples to illustrate his meaning, yet so much alike are ancient and modern rhythm that examples of nearly all the forms described by him can be supplied from the 'Wohltemperirtes Klavier' alone. Thus he speaks as follows of the six time bars. 'In the fourth place are the bars of the six time duration. Two kinds of bar are common to this megethos, the even and uneven. For of the three ratios which are given by the number 6, namely 3:3, 2:4, and 1:5, the last is not rhythmical; and of the two others, the isorhythmic will come under the category of the dactylic or even species, and the displasic under that of the iambic or uneven species.'

Westphal¹ gives the following examples to explain this passage; the single 'time' being represented by the semiquavers, and its equivalent the metrical sign \cup .

Six time Monopody or Ionicus as a $\frac{3}{8}$ bar.

Bach, *Wohlt. Kl.*, No. 11 :—



¹ Westphal Aristoxenus, *Metik and Rhythmik*, p. 41. Leipzig. 1883.

Here there are three six time feet, preceded by the anacrusis.
The upper legato lines show the cola, the lower the single feet.

Six time Dipody as a $\frac{6}{16}$ Bar.

Bach, *Wohlt. Kl.*, No. 35 :—



Here again each bar contains six times, but is divided into two three time feet.

'With regard to the names of the time-magnitudes, I call chronos protos, that which is *incapable of being divided*; chronos disemos, trisemos, tetrasemos, that in which the chronos protos is contained two, three or four times, and similarly for the remaining magnitudes up to the chronos penta-kaieikosa-semos' (25 time magnitude).

In analyzing Bach's piano fugues it will be found that he almost invariably makes the short note (chronos protos) the basis of his time signature, and that in his fugues he *very rarely divides it*: and these works give examples of all the Greek poetic feet (except those in 5 time) in their fundamental forms; while in his other works, and in the music of other composers, the metrical feet can easily be traced, although as a rule the chronos protos does not form the basis of the notation as is the case with the fugues. Thus the fugue no. 16 of the 'Wohltemp. Klav.' is, after the first bar, constructed almost entirely of anapaests; no. 2 of anapaests and spondees, accompanied by the proceleusmatic form of the four time foot; no. 28 of the tribrachic form of the trochee, no. 18 of spondees and

dactyls. Aristoxenus' system of referring each kind of poetic foot to one of three species, iambic or three time, dactylic or four time and paeonic or five time, is of immense value in the analysis of modern music. Of the above-mentioned fugues, nos. 16, 2, and 18 belong to the dactylic species, and no. 28 to the iambic.

Greek musicians obeyed certain laws relating to the length of the colon, the use of the caesura, and the proportion of the weak to the strong portions of the foot, which are founded on a natural feeling for order and regularity in a work of art. Thus Aristoxenus tells us that they never allowed a colon of iambic rhythm to extend beyond the compass of six feet, a dactylic colon beyond five feet, a paeonic beyond three feet, for the ear cannot easily grasp larger time measurements than these. Hence a hexameter, which contains six dactylic feet must be divided into two cola by means of a caesura; and the caesura should be placed *within* a foot, rather than at the end, for by this means a more vigorous effect is produced.

Bach, Fugue No. 16 :—



In this example, the semiquavers are chronoi protoi, the quavers chronoi disemoi, and the crotchets chronoi tetrasemoi. The subject of the fugue contains six feet in the dactylic species of rhythm: and Bach has produced the necessary caesura by means of the rest in the fourth foot.

When the art of the Greeks fell into

decay, their fine rhythmical forms as well as their melodies shared in the general ruin. Many of their technical terms were misunderstood, and have been to this day: and this has given rise to much misconception as to the nature of their music. Down to a recent period for instance the long syllable was believed to invariably be equal

to two shorts: but Aristoxenus and 'Anonymus' have shown us that it could also contain three, four or five shorts; and the latter writer gives the following metrical signs $\cup = \text{♪}$ $\text{—} = \text{♪}$ $\text{L} = \text{♪}$ $\text{U} = \text{♪}$ $\text{W} = \text{♪}$ $\text{H} = \text{♪}$. The lamentable result of endeavouring to produce musical rhythm out of Greek poetry in accordance with the idea that a long is only equal to two shorts is seen in Burney's 'Dissertation on the Music of the Ancients.'

The Roman musicians probably imitated the music of the declining period of Greek art; and about the beginning of the Christian era, the mixture of nations at Rome having caused the Latin language to lose whatever feeling for quantity it had possessed, poetry began to be written in which accent and not quantity formed the basis of the rhythm. A landmark in the ascendancy of accent over quantity can be fixed in the third century after Christ, when Commodianus, a convert to Christianity, wrote poetry of this kind, and distinctly asserted that he did so in order to please the vulgar, who had lost all the old feeling for quantity or time-measurement. One result of the disappearance of strict measure of time from poetry and music was the development of a form of music which followed the construction of prose words, taking its rhythm from the rhetorical construction of the text: and thus there arose on the ruins of the ancient measured music a new and magnificent art, now known as 'Plainsong' or 'Gregorian Music,' the rhythmical construction of which is based on the natural laws of phrasing explained by Aristoxenus, while the individual notes cannot be arranged in metrical feet and modern bars. Later on, towards the tenth century, certain poetical compositions called Sequences were sung in the Church. These consisted of verses containing a given number of accents, and connected by rhymes; but since strict time-measurement or metre did not enter into their construction, they were called Proses, and not

dignified with the name of poetry. To the invention of counterpoint, or music in parts, is due the reawakening of the feeling for metrical music;¹ for it was impossible to sing vocal parts to 'prose' music. But it took many centuries, and the gradual destruction of the fine prose rhythm of Plainsong to develop anew the old metrical rhythmical forms. The early modern composers in their gropings after a satisfactory mould in which to cast their instrumental compositions were gradually arriving at that natural balance and proportion of phrases and periods, anciently called rhythm, now known as 'form'; which, though not absolutely essential for vocal music, where the words, whether in prose or poetry, give the meaning, are imperatively required in instrumental music, if it is to arrive at anything higher than the dance forms. These efforts culminated in the magnificent structure raised by the genius of John Sebastian Bach, the founder of Modern Music: and when he had shown the way, the logical development of form was carried on by his great successors.

Modern composers have, by following the instincts of their genius, unconsciously brought about a renaissance of the natural rhythms and musical forms known to the ancient Greeks, simply enlarging and developing them by the aid of modern resources, while adhering to certain definite principles which on examination are found to agree with those enunciated 2000 years ago by Aristoxenus of Tarentum.

Many of the most powerful effects of music, both in ancient and modern times, have been produced by the use of vigorous forms of rhythm: and through Morelli's fortunate discovery at Venice the musical theorist is able to show why certain rhythms produce certain aesthetic effects, and to throw an important light on the construction of many modern masterpieces.

C. F. ABDY WILLIAMS.

¹ I am leaving out of consideration the simple forms of rhythm used in the dance.

THE BATTLE OF LAKE TRASIMENE.

THE present state of the question as to the scene of this battle may be summarized as follows. It is agreed that Livy represents the battle as being fought on the north shore of the lake between Borghetto and

Passignano. It is almost equally agreed that if we accept Polybius's account we must transfer the scene to the east of the lake. Nissen indeed is, I believe, alone in trying to reconcile Polybius with Livy.

Further, the general opinion is that, while Livy's description of the ground is clear and intelligible, that of Polybius, though clear enough on paper, is not supported by the actual facts. Thus Höfler, who knows the ground, says that the αὐλὼν ἐπίπεδος of Polybius does not exist; and similarly Arnold, though he eventually follows Polybius, thinks that there is nothing between Torricella and Magione on the east of the lake 'to deserve the name of a valley.' For a more complete summary of the discussion I must refer to Mr. W. T. Arnold's edition of Arnold's *Second Punic War* (1886), pp. 334 ff. Since its publication a new turn has been given to the controversy by Hesselbarth in his admirable *Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen zur dritten Decade des Livius* (Halle, 1889), pp. 694 ff. It is sufficient to say here that he puts the battle to the east of Magione, and believes this to be in accordance with Polybius.

Now my experience of Livy and Polybius has taught me that, when they differ, Polybius is almost invariably right. I determined therefore to judge, so far as I was able, with my own eyes, as to whether Polybius could be supported in this instance. Accordingly the other day I drove from Perugia to Magione, and from there set out to investigate the ground. I may say at once that, so far as I could see, there is nothing between Perugia and Magione in any way resembling an αὐλὼν ἐπίπεδος. Hesselbarth's arrangement of the battle, though it has perhaps an air of probability on his plan (in some respects incorrect), appears quite impossible when you have once seen the actual ground. The area of his battle-field is far too extensive and not sufficiently shut in by hills. It was not till I had walked from Magione to the high ground overlooking the lake and begun to retrace my steps that the truth of Polybius's account began to impress itself upon me. It will be remembered that a little to the west of Passignano there begins a narrow defile between the mountains and the lake, about five miles in length, through which the railway and road run. At the village of Torricella the road leaves the lake, having on its right the hill of Monte del Lago, crowned by a curious old walled village with a tower gateway. For about a quarter of a mile it ascends gradually, and then you suddenly find yourself looking down on a more or less ellipse-shaped basin with a flat bottom, and almost completely surrounded by steep hills; the only exit—which from this point appears much narrower than it

really is—being under Magione, where the road from Chiusi to Perugia now runs. This basin—the longer axis of which measures about two and a half miles and the shorter about one and a half—Polybius correctly describes as an αὐλὼν ἐπίπεδος, having on its sides βουνούς ὑψηλοὺς καὶ συνεχεῖς, and at one end λίμνην τελείως σιενὴν ἀπολείπουσαν παράδοον ὡς εἰς τὸν αὐλῶνα παρὰ τὴν παρώρειαν (i.e. the defile from Passignano to Torricella). The only difficulty in the description is with regard to the hill at the opposite end, the κατὰ τὴν ἀντικρὺ λόφον ἐπικείμενον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ δύσβατον, where Hannibal posted himself with his Spanish and Libyan troops. For in reality the basin runs nearly due south, and at its southern end is a hill which at first sight appears to answer to Polybius's description. It seems however far more likely that Hannibal stationed his heavy-armed troops so as to block the exit by Magione; and supposing that the Roman army, as is probably the case, was marching in the direction of Perugia, Polybius may with no great inaccuracy from his point of view have spoken of the hill on which Magione stands as ὁ ἀντικρὺ and as ὁ κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πορείας λόφος. It should be said that the modern road from Torricella to Magione runs above the basin skirting the sides of the hills; but probably the ancient road ran straight across the bottom of the basin.

Another difficulty suggests itself with regard to the position of Hannibal's cavalry, which with the Gauls was posted under the cover of the hills on the left, so that their line extended as far as the defile leading to the αὐλῶν. It is said that the ground near Torricella is too steep for the operations of cavalry. That is true, but it is not too steep to admit of cavalry being placed there with the object of charging down on troops taken by surprise. On the whole then the nature of the ground corresponds with Polybius's narrative sufficiently to warrant us in following him in preference to Livy. The point to bear in mind is that the scene of the main fighting was not a narrow defile but a fairly broad hollow or combe, which is separated from the lake and the defile by a neck of land about a quarter of a mile in breadth. Polybius's account is also supported by evidence of another kind. Professor Middleton tells me that frequently after sleeping at Passignano for the purposes of sport he has turned up skulls to the east of that place, that is to say, in the defile leading to Torricella. This is in exact accordance with Polybius's narrative. But

had the battle been fought where Livy puts it there could have been little or no fighting in this defile. Further inquiries as to the district within which skulls have been found might lead to positive conviction as to the site of the battle.

It is generally supposed that Livy's account is exceedingly clear; indeed quite recently I saw it referred to as one of the few exceptions to the vagueness with which ancient historians describe battles. But the account, though as usual with Livy's

work it presents a smooth surface, does not bear close inspection. The discrepancies in it have been well pointed out by Voigt (*Philologische Wochenschrift*, p. 1883, iii. 1580 ff.). I will only call attention here to the following phrases—*ab tergo ac super caput †haud dispectae † insidiae; in pontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est; ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a ponte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat*—and ask how they can be reconciled with one another.

A. TILLEY.

SOME PASSAGES IN THE *THEBAID* OF STATIUS.

I. 224.

nunc geminas punire domos, quis sanguinis auctor
ipse ego, descendo. Perseos alter in Argos
scinditur, Aonias fluit hic ab origine Thebas.

227 mens cunctis † imposita manet: quis funera Cadmi
nesciat et totiens excitam a sedibus imis
Eumenidum bellasse aciem, etc....
.....uix lucis spatio, uix noctis abactae
enumerare queam mores gentemque profanam.

The word always selected for emendation in l. 227 is *imposita* (*infesta*, *inmota*, *infesta* and many other suggestions have been made). I believe that *imposita* is sound and *cunctis* corrupt. Read:

mens *cunis* imposita manet.

'The temper implanted in their cradle is unchanged'; they are still a wicked generation. *Cunis imposita*, meaning *illis imposita in cunis*, requires no illustration.

I. 517.

uario strepit icta tumultu
regia: pars ostro † tenues auroque sonantes
emunire toros alteque inferre tapetas.

Müller *ostro tinctos* (badly; *ostro stratos* would be better). Read:

pars ostro *ardentes* auroque sonantes,

the participles balancing each other. *ardentes* is just the word required to balance *sonantes*;

ep. Valerius Flaccus iii. 340, *ardentes murice uestes* imitated from Virgil's *ardebat murice laena*.

II. 637.

exit et in fratrem cognataque pectora telo
conserit; ille oculos et adhuc in luce
natantes
sistit et aspecta germani morte resolvit.

So the Puteaneus. The other MSS. have *etiamnum* for *et adhuc*. It seems to be generally thought that both traditions are corrupt; Kohlmann asterizes the passage. With either reading the sense is of course the same and seems to me excellent. *in luce natantes* is opposed to *in tenebris mersos*. It is impossible, it may be observed, to retain in the figure the mode of expression which is usually employed in speaking of literal swimming. On the analogy of the opposition between *in aqua* (not *in aere*) *natare* and *in aqua mergi*, we might expect in *tenebris natare*; but as a limit between light and darkness is not familiar like limits between air and water, such an expression would suggest a totally different meaning. I dwell on this because I think that the suspicion thrown on the passage is due to a misapprehension of the metaphor, which must not be confounded with our expression 'his eyes swam.' Everything expressed in Markland's *extrema* or Bährens' *casura in*, is suggested fully by *et adhuc* or *etiamnum*.

As between these two readings, the presumption is of course strongly in favour of the Puteaneus, whose superiority to its fellows is abundantly proved on every page. I should also prefer *et adhuc* in point of sound. As *etiamnum* was a favourite word of Statius (see e.g. iii. 227, vii. 515, xii. 21,

424, 595, 725; and v. 326, where all the MSS. have *etiamnum* except P and G which preserve the true reading *etiamnunc*), it might easily have been introduced by a copyist.

II. 670.

iam sublata manus cassos deferitur in ietus
tardatque gradus, clipeum nec sustinet
umbo
mutatum spoliis, gelidus cadit imber anhelo
pectore, etc.

In correcting *mutatum*, we must observe that no intelligible sense can be made on the hypothesis that *umbo* is the subject of *sustinet*. Thus Lachmann's *mutantem* will not do, though there can be little doubt that some part of *nutare* is concealed in *mutatum*. Bährens advanced a step with his

clipeum nec sustinet, umbo
nutat cui spoliis,

but this is too far from the MSS., and the construction is not quite like Statius. I propose to read

clipeum nec sustinet, umbo
nutat dum spoliis, gelidus cadit imber anhelo
pectore.

It is quite a trick of Statius to use *umbo* immediately after *clipeus*, as a synonym; cp. viii. 704 multa rigent clipeo. densis iam consitus hastis ferratum quatit umbo nemus, and again xii. 665.

III. 378.

ibo libens certusque mori, licet optima
coniunx
†*auditusque* iterum revocet socer.

Polynices is speaking. Köstlin proposed *Argivusque*, Bährens *cunctatusque*. Read, with far less change,

augustusque iterum revocet socer.
augustus balances *optima*.

X. 306.

huic languida ceruix
in laeuum cogente deo mediaque iacebant
colla † *relicta* † *lyra*.

(*relicta*, Bährens, Kohlmann.) Read

colla *recepta* lyra.

Compare iii. 397 ingentique *exceptus* terga
columna, iv. 433 effusam pharetra cervicem
excepte quiescit.

X. 537.

qualiter aut Malean aut alta Ceraunia
supra
cessantes in nube sedent nigrisque *teguntur*
collibus et subitae saliunt in uela procellae.

So edd. from one of the Behottian MSS. *teguntur* might be acceptable if we had only to reckon with the reading of B (Bambergensis) and some other MSS., *leguntur*. But the Puteaneus has *locuntur*, and S (Parisinus) has *legantur*. These variants, I contend, point distinctly to reading

nigrisque *locantur*
collibus,

'lodge themselves on the black hills.' For this verb in Statius see iii. 497 *membra locat scopulo*.

J. B. BURY.

EPICURUS AND EROTION.

WE know from Diogenes Laertius x. 7 that Erotion was one of Epicurus's disciples. The words of Diogenes are *συνείναι τ' αὐτῷ* (sc. Τιμοκράτης φησὶν) *τε καὶ Μητροδώρῳ ἑταίρας καὶ ἄλλας, Μαρμάριον καὶ Ἡδεῖαν καὶ Ἐρωτίον καὶ Νικίδιον*.

It appears to me very probable that the lady in question appeared in an admittedly corrupt passage of the *De Finibus*. In book i. § 25 Cicero is arguing against the idea that an orthodox Epicurean could hold that anything is pleasant in itself, apart from its reference to the body. 'Do not tell me,' he

says to Torquatus, 'that your literary studies are pleasant to you *in themselves* (ipsa), and that in like manner your ancestors' famous deeds were pleasant *in themselves* to them. Nunquam hoc ita defendit Epicurus, *neque vero tu* aut quisquam eorum, qui aut saperet aliquid aut ista didicisset. The whole theory of Epicurus', Cicero goes on to say, 'is overthrown, if you allow that there is any pleasure but what is referable to the body. No orthodox Epicurean can possibly maintain such a proposition.'

The words *neque vero tu*—the reading,

according to Madvig, of [A]ELMOr, while for *tu aut* PR read *troii aut*, and C *tu Triari aut*—are admittedly corrupt. The emendation accepted by Madvig, not without hesitation, and by Reid (in his translation) is due to P. Manutius—*neque Metrodorus*. No one would have quarrelled with Metrodorus, if the manuscripts had been on his side: but it is a far cry from *Metrodorus* to *vero tu*.

I propose to ask Metrodorus to make way for Erotion, reading for *vero tu* the word *Erotium*. The Latin form of 'Ερώτιον is of course Erotium, as in Plautus's *Menaechmi*: this would be written *Erotiū*, and, granted the corruption of *tiū* to *tu*, the change from *neque ero* to *neque vero* was inevitable.

Nothing, I think, could be more apt than the meaning which results. 'Catch Epicurus and his mistress maintaining that there was any pleasure except that of the body, or any Epicurean who was a man of taste or knew his creed!' The word *saperet* is of course selected to suggest the pleasures of the palate. As *defendit* is in the past tense, it is unnecessary to suppose that Erotion was an authoress, although one may infer from Leontion's spirited attack upon Theophrastus (see Cicero *de Nat. Deorum* i. 93) that Epicurean ladies were facile with the pen.

J. ADAM.

PROF. SUSEMIHL ON THE MSS. OF ARISTOTLE'S POLITICS.

It is well known that the MSS. of Aristotle's Politics, so far as they have been examined, with one important exception—that of the Palimpsest Fragments re-discovered in the Vatican Library by Dr. Heylbut in 1886—fall into two distinct families, and that the opinions of scholars are not at one as to the comparative merit of the readings offered by them. It is not indeed possible to follow either family exclusively in the construction of a text, for all editors have found it necessary to base their text partly on the one family and partly on the other; but opinions have varied as to the family to which a general preference should be given. Bekker in both his editions favoured the second (II²), Prof. Susemihl favours the first (II¹), though to a less extent, as he himself tells us, than he once did; and his three editions, it may be added, have placed the readings of the two families on record with a completeness which much facilitates a comparison of them. On the other hand, Dr. Heylbut, writing in 1887 with Prof. Susemihl's editions before him, declares that 'any future recension of the text of the Politics should be based primarily on the manuscripts of the second family (eine künftige Textrecension in erster Linie auf Grund von II² herzustellen ist).' In the text of the first two books of the Politics published by me in the same year I have not unfrequently followed the first family where Bekker had followed the second, but I have in doubtful

cases given a general preference to the readings of the second family. Prof. Susemihl in a recently published paper¹ has expressed the opinion that in my book, his kind reference to which I value the more as we often do not agree, I have been too favourable to the readings of this family. I have studied his remarks, of which I will not lose sight, with the attention which remarks of his deserve, and have again considered the passages of the two books in which he claims a superiority for the first family, but I still think that the balance inclines in favour of the second.' It may, indeed, be asked whether it is necessary to come to a decision as to the comparative excellence of the two families—whether, in fact, we should not rather decide each particular case of variation on its merits—but this appears to be hardly feasible, for there are passages in which as much may be said for the readings offered by the one family considered in themselves as for those offered by the other. It would seem, therefore, to be the fate of every editor of the Politics not only to worship at two shrines, but also to be confronted with the difficult and invidious question, which of them deserves his reverence most.

I have fully recognized in my edition how much value often attaches to the readings offered by the MSS. of the first family. I

¹ *Quaestionum Aristotelearum Criticarum et Exegeticarum* Pars ii. (Gryphiswaldiae, MDCCXIII.).

believe, that in three important passages of the second book of the Politics (1261 a 15 sq., 1261 b 2 sq. and 1273 a 41 sq.) they have preserved either the true reading or considerable vestiges of it, and that in two others (1260 b 41 and 1266 b 2) the *Vetus Interpres*, representing a text belonging to this family, is alone right. It is perhaps in this book that the merits of this family culminate. But I hope to be able to show that even in it the MSS. of the second family more than hold their own. Throughout the Politics they seem to me, perhaps owing to the greater care with which their archetype was written, to preserve a correct, though at first sight puzzling, reading oftener than the MSS. of the first family do.¹ They seem to me also to admit glosses into the text less often than their rivals.² In addition to internal evidence of this kind in their favour we have the noteworthy fact, to which I confess I think that Prof. Susemihl does not attach sufficient importance, that the Palimpsest Fragments of the Vatican Library agree far more often with the second family than with the first (see my Preface, Vol. I. p. viii.), and thus lend the weight of their authority in a preponderating degree to it. These Fragments are ascribed to the tenth century, and are therefore of a much earlier date than any complete MS. of the Politics known to scholars—two centuries older in all probability than the text followed by the *Vetus Interpres* (see my second volume, p. xlv.), and three centuries older than the oldest complete MS. of the Politics now extant (*ibid.* p. xlix.).

Prof. Susemihl tests the comparative merits of the two families by asking how many times in each of the first two books of the Politics the MSS. of the first family appear to offer the true reading, and how many times those of the second appear to do so. Now, though I am disposed on the whole to give a general preference to the readings of the second family, it does not follow that in each separate book of the Politics they will be in a majority of cases the preferable ones. Nor am I quite certain whether the MSS. which are right oftenest will necessarily be the better MSS.

¹ See my edition of the Politics, Vol. II. p. lvi. sq. I may here correct my comment (p. lvii.) on 1339 a 29, where I have now little doubt that P¹ are right in reading γε: for ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ . . . γε compare 1284 b 30 and 1331 a 7. Since I observed this parallel, I see that Eucken (*De Partic. Usu* p. 15) had already called attention to it.

² *Ibid.* p. lvii. : see also critical notes on 1255 b 12 and 1263 a 12.

Still I do not think that the MSS. of the second family need shrink from the test which Prof. Susemihl applies to them.

I would urge, however, that in deciding what reading is the true one we must keep fully in view the known idiosyncrasy of the family of MSS., the *proprii errores* to which it is liable. Now it is agreed on all hands that the three MSS. which constitute the first family—M²P¹ and the text used by the *Vetus Interpres*, which Prof. Susemihl designates as Γ—are based on an archetype which, owing probably to the carelessness of the copyist, is prone to omit words and groups of words. The existence of this characteristic weakness is fully recognized by Prof. Susemihl, not only in his recently published paper (p. viii.), but also in his third and last edition of the Politics. He remarks in his preface to that edition (p. xvi.), ‘una ratione Π¹ recensio posthabenda est alteri vulgatae: quae in illa desunt verba maximam partem non in hac male addita, sed in illa male omissa sunt aut deleta: hic illic dubius sum, quid in hac re sentiam.’ It is, in fact, only in a small percentage of the passages in which these MSS. omit words that Prof. Susemihl follows them in his third edition (see my edition of the Politics, Vol. II. p. lvii. sq.). I am myself inclined to doubt, as will be seen in what follows, whether this percentage is not even now too large. I may take this opportunity of pointing out what has not, I think, been pointed out before, that, as might be expected, these MSS. are especially prone to omit small words. Thus, if I do not err, they omit καὶ 24 times in the course of the Politics, μέν eight and δέ nine times, τις and its parts six times, εἶναι five times, αὖ five times, and ἐκ thrice. M²P¹ omit the article 35 times and τε eight times, and very possibly Γ did the like, though of this we cannot be sure, for the *Vetus Interpres* seldom renders τε, and, writing in Latin, of course seldom renders the article. That these omissions are mostly erroneous will be evident from the fact that Prof. Susemihl in his last edition of the Politics follows the MSS. of this family in their omissions of the article, I think, only six times out of 35, in their omissions of τις and its parts not once, in their omissions of τε only one time out of eight, in their omissions of καὶ only nine times out of 24, and in their omissions of μέν only twice out of eight times. It is evidently necessary, therefore, to be very careful how we attach weight to omissions of small words in Π¹, and especially to omissions

of the small words which these MSS. are most prone to omit.

Prof. Susseimihl remarks with much truth that the readings offered by the first family are better in the second book of the Politics than in the first. He claims that in the first Π^1 have the advantage in 23 passages, Π^2 in 19, while in the second Π^1 offer readings 'falsae sine dubio' in only 39 passages and have either unanimously or otherwise preserved the true reading or traces of it in 64 or 65 instances.

Taking the first book first, we note that in five of the 23 passages in which a superiority is claimed for Π^1 words are omitted, and in four out of these five small words: thus δ is omitted by M^a and possibly by Γ in 1253 b 33 and by $M^a P^1$ and possibly Γ in 1260 a 31, $\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\iota$ is omitted by Π^1 in 1252 a 8 and 1257 b 7, $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\lambda\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ in 1252 b 20. Looking to the known weakness of Π^1 in the matter of omissions, I cannot help thinking that in these five passages the chances are in favour of Π^2 . There are indeed several other passages among the 23 in which I should be disposed to hold that the advantage rests with Π^2 , so that in the first book at any rate, if I am right, the sum works out in favour of Π^2 .

In the second book Prof. Susseimihl, as has been said, claims that the readings of Π^1 are 'falsae sine dubio' in only 39 passages, which he enumerates. There are, however, two passages not included in this enumeration, 1266 b 6 and 1268 b 16, in which Prof. Susseimihl in his last edition follows Π^2 against the clear consensus of Π^1 , and no less than 12 others in which he follows Π^2 against the possible, not to say the probable, consensus of Π^1 . I speak of the possible consensus, because in these passages we cannot be sure that Γ agreed with $M^a P^1$ and not with Π^2 , however probable it may be that it did so. These 12 passages are 1261 a 35, b 25, 1265 a 19, b 39, 1266 b 3, 1268 a 26, b 23, 1270 a 8, 21, 27, 1271 b 22, 41.¹ Next we come to the passages of the second book (22 in number) in which Prof. Susseimihl allows (p. ix. of his paper) that, if we consider the readings in themselves, as much is to be said for the readings of Π^2 as for those of Π^1 . For my own part I should claim that Π^2 are superior in at least

nine of these. In five out of the nine—1265 a 12, 1267 a 40, 1268 a 6, b 17, 1273 b 32— Π^1 omit the small words which they are prone to omit, and not, I think, rightly; and in the remaining four—1264 a 21, 1269 b 21, 28, 1274 b 14 (see my notes on these passages)—I am decidedly of opinion that Π^2 are superior and not merely equal to Π^1 . I may say the same of four other passages, 1261 b 7, 1265 a 21, 1274 a 4, and 1274 b 6. I am glad to find that in the first of these Prof. Susseimihl is more than half inclined to agree with me in preferring the reading of Π^2 . Is not $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ in Π^1 in the second of them, 1265 a 21, a marginal note which has crept into the text of these MSS., just as $\mu\grave{\eta} \mu\omicron\nu\omega\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ has in the same MSS. in the very next line, and as $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$ has in the same MSS. in 1256 b 26? In 1274 a 4 Prof. Susseimihl places the reading of Π^2 in his text, though he inclines to prefer Coray's emendation $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\pi\alpha$ to it. We thus arrive at a total of 54 passages of the second book in which, if my view is correct, Π^2 are to be followed against a clear consensus of Π^1 , without counting 12 others in which Π^2 are to be followed against a possible or probable consensus of Π^1 .

Now let us pass on to the 64 or 65 readings, occurring in 58 passages, in which a superiority is claimed for Π^1 . In 30 of the 58 passages and 33 of the readings I at once admit the claim, for in these passages I have myself adopted the reading of the first family; indeed I will add two others, not mentioned by Prof. Susseimihl, but in which both he and I follow Π^1 , 1271 a 40 ($\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$) and 1273 a 9 ($\epsilon\iota\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\sigma\iota\nu$). On the other hand, I do not know why Prof. Susseimihl includes 1270 b 12, 'Ανδρίους, among the passages in which Π^1 are superior to Π^2 . Π^1 have $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ here, Π^2 $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (except pr. P^3 , which has $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$), and Prof. Susseimihl himself reads 'Ανδρίους with Π^2 , as I do. If we reckon this passage then, as it should apparently be reckoned, to the credit of Π^2 , not Π^1 , the total number of readings in which Π^2 seem to be right will stand so far at 55, and the total for Π^1 at 34. In two other passages, 1269 a 21 and b 14, the fault of Π^2 is not that they do not give the true reading, but merely this, that they give in addition to it an alternative reading which is false.

The passages included in Prof. Susseimihl's list of 58 in which I have not adopted the reading of Π^1 are the 25 following—1260 b 27, 1261 a 27, b 4, 1262 a 3, 1263 a 23, b 7, 9, 11, 1264 b 31, 1265 a 16, 33 *sq.*, b 11, 30, 1267 a 35, b 26, 1268 a 3, 6 *sq.*, 25, b

¹ If we ought to presume that Γ probably agreed with $M^a P^1$ when its reading is uncertain—and this, if I do not mistake, is Prof. Susseimihl's opinion (see his paper, page v., note 17)—then these 12 passages will have to be counted on the side of Π^2 . I am content however, to leave them uncounted.

12, 1269 b 6, 1271 a 20, b 37, 1272 b 8 sq., 39, 1273 b 41.

In seven of these 25 passages (1260 b 27, 1261 b 4, 1263 b 7, 9, 11, 1268 a 3, and 1272 b 39, if my view of this passage is correct) we have to do with cases in which words are absent in Π^1 which we find in Π^2 : in 1260 b 27 Π^1 omit δέ, in 1261 b 4 κατὰ μέρος, in 1263 b 7 οὐ, in 1263 b 9, 11, τό, in 1268 a 3 τὴν δίκην, and in 1272 b 39, if I am right, τό. I will not positively assert that Π^1 are wrong in all these passages, but when we remember the tendency of these MSS. to omit words, and especially small words, we shall be wise in demanding cogent proof that they are right. In three of them (1260 b 27, 1261 b 4, and 1268 a 30) it appears to me that Π^1 are wrong. That καταδικάζειν τὴν δίκην (1268 a 3), a phrase which Prof. Susemihl is inclined to question, is a perfectly possible phrase, seems clear from Polyb. 22, 4, 7 Hultsch, καὶ τοῦτω τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν δικῶν μίαν μὲν αὐτῶν καταδικασάν ἱερουσίλις. As to a fourth passage, 1263 b 7, where Π^1 omit οὐ, I quite agree with Prof. Susemihl (*Qu. Crit.* p. 366) that there is a reference to Plato in τοῖς λίαν ἐν ποιούσι τὴν πόλιν, but I do not think that we are obliged on that account to omit οὐ with Π^1 . Π^1 omit οὐ in 1266 a 23 also, and there they are admittedly wrong. To my mind οὐ συμβαίνει suits ἀναιροῦσιν in the next line better than συμβαίνει. The persons referred to are said, if we read οὐ συμβαίνει, to fail in securing some good things and absolutely to put an end to others. In 1272 b 39 I still think that κατὰ τὸ αὐτό Π^2 is more probable than κατ' αὐτό or καθ' αὐτό Π^1 . But I will leave out of the reckoning both 1272 b 39 and 1263 b 9, 11 (with respect to which Prof. Susemihl's remarks deserve full consideration), and place only the remaining four of the seven passages (1260 b 27, 1261 b 4, 1268 a 3, 1263 b 7) to the credit of Π^2 . This brings the total of Π^2 to 59.

Eighteen passages remain. In one of them, 1263 a 23, I have now little doubt that I was wrong in preferring the reading of Π^2 , ἦθεσι, to that of Π^1 , ἔθει. I have found a very closely parallel passage in Arrian *Anab.* 7, 9, 2, πόλειον τε οἰκήτορας ἀπέφηνε καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἔθεισι χρηστοῖς ἐκόσμησεν, where Duebner, following the best MSS., has restored ἔθεισι in place of ἦθεσι. But in five other passages at least of the eighteen (1265 b 11, 1267 a 35, b 25, 1269 b 6, 1271 a 20) I still think that Π^2 have the advantage.

In 1265 b 11 Prof. Susemihl, though he

allows in his paper (page v. note 18) that the readings offered by ΓM^s alone are very rarely to be adopted, nevertheless prefers the reading of ΓM^s , ταῖς ἄλλαις, to the reading of $\Pi^1\Pi^2$, ταῖς πλείσταις. His reason is that the reading ταῖς πλείσταις obliges us to infer that a check was placed in some states (with what success is another matter) on the number of children brought into the world, and that the fact is unlikely. But it is not easy to set limits to legislative folly, and the Cretan States at any rate seem to have made efforts in this direction (2, 10, 1272 a 21 sqq.).

In 1267 a 35, where Π^2 have ἐκλείπειν and $\text{M}^s\Pi^1$ ἐκλείπειν (we cannot be certain from 'derelinquere,' the rendering of Vet. Int., which reading he found in Γ), is it not likely that Π^2 are right? It should be noticed that a similar variation of reading occurs in 1260 b 36 (where Π^2 have ἐπιβαλλέσθαι, 'forsitan recte,' according to Prof. Susemihl in his third edition, and Π^1 or $\text{M}^s\Pi^1$ ἐπιβάλλεσθαι), in 1284 a 5 (Π^2 παρασχέσθαι, Π^1 or $\text{M}^s\Pi^1$ παρέχεσθαι), and in 1332 b 1 (Π^2 μεταβαλεῖν, Π^1 or $\text{M}^s\Pi^1$ μεταβάλλειν).

In 1267 b 25 I cannot share Prof. Susemihl's preference for the reading of Π^1 τριχῶν τε πλήθει καὶ κόμῃς: that of Π^2 , τριχῶν τε πλήθει καὶ κόσμῳ πολυτελεῖ, seems to me to be better. Is not κόμῃς here probably a various reading for τριχῶν which has usurped the place of κόσμῳ πολυτελεῖ? I explain κόσμῳ πολυτελεῖ ἐσθήτος εὐτελοῦς by supposing one of Hippodamus' eccentricities to have been the expensive adornment of inexpensive garments, and compare (Vol. II. p. 297) *Rhet.* 3, 7, 1408 a 11, τὸ δ' ἀνάλογόν ἐστιν, ἐὰν μήτε περὶ εὐόγκων αυτοκαβδάλως λέγηται μήτε περὶ εὐτελῶν σεμνῶς, μηδ' ἐπὶ τῷ εὐτελεῖ ὀνόματι ἐπ' ἡ κόσμος· εἰ δὲ μή, κομωδία φαίνεται, οἷον ποιεῖ Κλεοφῶν· ὁμοίως γὰρ ἓνα ἔλεγε καὶ εἰ εἶπεν ἄν 'πότνια σικκή.'

As to 1269 b 6, where Π^1 have περραιβοῖς and Π^2 περραιβοῖς, I ought undoubtedly to have mentioned this difference of reading, just as I ought to have mentioned the difference of reading in 1267 a 35 and 1268 a 6 sq. Prof. Susemihl does not give his reasons for decidedly preferring the reading of Π^1 . I am open to conviction on the subject, but, so far as I see at present, I incline to adhere to Περραιβοῖς. No doubt coins of the fifth century B.C. bear the inscription ΠΕΡΑΙΒΟΙ and thus support the form Περραιβοί, but in an Attic inscription referring to events of B.C. 323-2 and probably dating from that year (Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Gr.* No. 118) we find the form [Πε]ρραιβῶν, so that this form may well have tended to

take the place of the other in Aristotle's day. Meisterhans (*Grammatik der att. Inschriften*, ed. 2, p. 74) includes Πειραιβία among the words which 'doppeltes Rho verlangen,' and Classen reads Πειραιβίαν and Πειραιβοί in Thuc. 4, 78, adding in his note that 'die Schreibung mit doppeltem ρ ist durch Aesch. *Suppl.* 253 (256) gesichert.'

In 1271 a 20 the reading preferred by Prof. Susemihl is supported not by Π¹ (i.e. ΓΜ²P¹), but only by Γ, and even as to that there is a doubt, for Vet. Int., who has 'etsi' for μὴν, may after all not have found κᾶν in Γ. I am still disposed to think that ἀλλὰ μὴν βέλτιόν γε, the reading of all the other MSS., is right. 'Ἀλλὰ μὴν...γε,' but certainly, is a phrase of very frequent occurrence in the Politics. Compare with 1271 a 18—22 Περὶ Νεότητος καὶ Γήρως 2, 468 a 31, δι' ἣν δ' αἰτίαν τὰ μὲν οὐ δύναται διαιρούμενα ζῆν, τὰ δ' ἀποφυνεύεται τῶν φυτῶν, ἕτερος ἐστὶ λόγος· ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἔχει κατὰ γε τοῦτο τὰ τε φυτὰ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐντόμων γένος.

I incline on the whole to adopt the reading of Π² in 1264 b 31, 1265 b 29, and 1268 b 12 also, but as in these three passages there is more room for doubt, and I am anxious to do all possible justice to Π¹, I will abstain from counting them on the side of Π². Here Π¹ unquestionably offer the easier reading, but in all three passages we can more readily understand the reading of Π¹ taking the place of that of Π² than the reading of Π² being substituted for that of Π¹. In 1264 b 31 the difficult reading γάρ might easily pass into δέ, just as a difficult γάρ passes in Π¹ into δέ in 1329 b 13, but it is not very likely that an original δέ would be exchanged for γάρ. I take γάρ in 1264 b 31 to introduce a justification of what has just been said, that the Platonic Socrates in the 'Republic' does explain τῆς πολιτείας τὴν τάξιν. As to 1268 b 12, I confess that after giving full consideration to Prof. Susemihl's remarks I still regard ὁ μὲν as more likely to be the original reading than μὲν ὁ. Take as an instance of a similar displacement of μὲν *Meteor.* 1, 3, 340 a 13, διαφέρει δ' οὐδὲν οὐδ' εἰ τις φήσει μὲν μὴ γίνεσθαι ταῦτα ἐξ ἄλλῳ, ἵσα μέντοι τὴν δύναμιν εἶναι, where μὲν should logically follow γίνεσθαι, not φήσει. We can far more readily imagine a copyist correcting this irregularity than introducing it into the text. In 1265 b 29 Π¹ have εἰ μὲν οὖν ὡς κοινοτάτην ταύτην κατασκευάζει ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν, while Π² have πολιτεῖαν in place of πολιτειῶν. For the reading of Π² compare 1328 b 27, καθ' ἕκαστον ἔργον τῶν εἰρημένων. A Latin parallel may be found in Sallust, *Bell.*

Iugurth. 19, 7, pleraque ex Punicis oppida, and 30, 4, unam ex tam multis orationem eius. No doubt we expect πολιτεῖαν to be placed nearer to κοινοτάτην, which goes with it, but peculiarities in the order of words are not rare in the Politics (see my notes on 1255 a 21, 1261 a 27 *sub fin.*, and 1265 b 15). If we bear in mind the tendency of MSS. to place adjacent words in the same case, we shall readily understand how πολιτεῖαν could become πολιτειῶν, but it is less easy to understand πολιτειῶν being converted into πολιτεῖαν. I will, however, as I have said, leave 1264 b 31, 1265 b 29, and 1268 b 12 uncounted, and count on the side of Π² only the five passages previously mentioned.

Place these five variations of reading to the credit of Π² and 1263 a 23 to that of Π¹, and the total of Π², which was 59, becomes 64, while that of Π¹ stands at 35. Nine passages, including 13 variations of reading, remain, and even if we were to range them all on the side of Π¹, which I am not prepared to do, Π² would still have the advantage. The nine passages are—1261 a 27, 1262 a 3 (two variations of reading), 1265 a 16, 33 *sq.* (four variations), 1268 a 6 *sq.*, 25, 1271 b 37, 1272 b 8 *sq.*, 1273 b 41. I have expressed in my critical note on 1261 a 27 the doubt which I feel as to the true reading in that passage. It is difficult to say whether Π¹ are right in adding ὤν in 1262 a 3 and καὶ in 1268 a 25, or Π² in omitting these small words. In 1268 a 6 *sq.*, where Π¹ have ἐτι δὲ νόμον ἐτίθει and Π² ἐτίθει δὲ νόμον, it is doubtful which are right, though Π² may well be so, for the other items of Hippodamus' legislation are introduced simply by δέ. After reading Prof. Susemihl's remarks I quite see that there is much to be said for the reading of Π¹ in 1271 b 37 and 1273 b 41,¹ and for that of Γ (backed by the authority, which is not great, of a pale ink correction in P¹) in 1265 a 16.

I have already said (Vol. II. p. 358) that I regard the question of the true reading in 1272 b 8 *sq.* (where I am glad to see that Prof. Susemihl now accepts τῶν δυνατῶν from Π²) as a very doubtful one. The same thing may be said of 1265 a 33 *sq.* In both these passages the authority of Π¹ is somewhat weakened by their retention of a part of the

¹ In 1271 b 37 Π¹ have τοῦ περὶ Τριπίον τόπον καὶ ῥόδου: Π² have ῥόδον in place of ῥόδου. Π¹ may be right, yet an original ῥόδον might easily become ῥόδου, looking to the tendency of copyists to place adjacent words in the same case. The same thing holds as to number in 1273 b 41.

version of Π^2 ($\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ in 1265 a 33 and $\delta\tau\alpha\nu$ in 1272 b 8) which is not consistent with the remainder of the reading they offer, though it is in complete accordance with the reading offered by Π^2 . When Π^1 and Π^2 agree in a reading, their testimony has very considerable weight, and I hesitate to alter the part of the version on which they agree—the part which stands on the surer foundation—in order to accept the part of the version which is offered only by Π^1 , especially when the complete version of Π^2 is a possible version. I confess I think that the version of Π^2 is a possible one both in 1265 a 33 sq. and in 1272 b 8 sq. As to the former passage, where I take Bonitz in the Index Aristotelicus to adopt the reading of Π^2 and Bekker, which I also have adopted, Prof. Susemihl argues that on the contrary Bonitz ‘dedita opera prorsus tacet de huius loci lectione.’ The words of Bonitz in Ind. Aristot. 26 a 43 are— $\tau\eta\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\acute{\nu}\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\alpha\iota$, Pol. 3, 13, 1285 a 39’ [a misprint for 1283 a 39], ‘Eth. Eud. 3, 5, 1232 a 31, cf. Pol. 2, 6, 1265 a 34.’ That the text of 1265 a 33 sq. which Bonitz here, no doubt tacitly, adopts is that of the Berlin Academy edition of Aristotle’s works (Bekk.¹) I infer from his Preface to the Index, page v., where he says, ‘Qui nunc proponitur Index, quoniam pars est Academicæ Aristotelis editionis, et *textum eius editionis* et *paginarum versuumque numerum* sequitur.’ Bonitz says (*s. v. ἀκολουθεῖν*, 26 a 25), ‘sequi videtur causam effectus, propositiones conclusio, conditiones id quod ex iis suspensum est, substantiam accidens; de his rationibus ἀκολουθεῖν usurpatur,’ but he does not tell us under which of these four heads he brings the use of ἀκολουθεῖν in 1265 a 33 sq.; he may possibly bring it under the third. I find little to object to in Sepulveda’s rendering—‘quorum hoc per se deliciosae, illud laboriosae vitae comes est.’

I should have felt no hesitation in adopting Prof. Susemihl’s emendation of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ for $\delta\prime\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \delta\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in 1261 b 2 sqq., if

the change of $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ into $\delta\prime\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma$ had been more easily explainable. I have adopted at least six emendations in the first two books of the Politics (1257 b 33, 1263 a 13, 1266 a 18, 1270 b 22, 1274 b 7, 20), and I expect to adopt not a few more in other books. Than a certain, or practically certain, emendation few things are more welcome. But I often feel, as to the Politics especially, the truth of a remark made by Prof. Gomperz in a paper on the Fragments of the Greek Tragic Poets, ‘Wenn das halbe Nachdenken uns von der Ueberlieferung entfernt, so leitet das ganze (wie so häufig) wieder zu ihr zurück.’ In the Politics we have to do, as Prof. Susemihl has himself well said (ed. 1882, Praef. p. xxvi.), with ‘librum celerrime scriptum, nequaquam diligenter ubique elaboratum, incohatum potius quam perfectum.’ The Politics is written in an easy careless style, a style far more ‘unkempt’ than that of the Nicomachean Ethics. In studying a work of this kind we frequently find ourselves first strongly tempted to emend, and on second thoughts disposed to stay our hand.

We should be better able than we are to judge when to emend and when not to emend, and also how to emend, if we had at our command an Aristotelian Syntax, or better still a study of Aristotle’s manner of writing in all its details. The work done by Vahlen in his edition of the Poetics and by Eucken in his treatises on Aristotle’s use of particles and prepositions (to name no other writers) needs to be carried further. We have a Homeric Grammar and a Grammar of the Attic Inscriptions: a well-executed Aristotelian Grammar would be a great boon.

I will only point out in conclusion that not a step could have been taken in the inquiry with which we have been engaged in the foregoing pages without the aid of Prof. Susemihl’s invaluable apparatus criticus.

W. L. NEWMAN.

THE DATE OF THE NATIVITY.

THE difficulties about this date are notorious. Luke puts the birth of John in the reign of Herod, i. 5, and implies that the birth of Christ was only a few months after the birth of John. And here he agrees with Matthew, who puts the birth of Christ in

the reign of Herod, ii. 1, and the return from Egypt in the reign of Archelaos, soon after Herod’s death, ii. 22. But subsequently Luke puts the birth of Christ at the time of the taxing under Quirinius, ii. 1. And then he says that Christ was about

thirty years old in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, iii. 1, 23.

The profane chronology of these years is clear enough. Herod died in the spring of 4 B.C., and was succeeded by Archelaos. Archelaos was deposed in the autumn of 6 A.D., and Quirinius then came to Judaea. The fifteenth year of Tiberius ran from the summer of 28 to the summer of 29 A.D. Consequently, any one born before the death of Herod, must have been over thirty-one at the beginning of that year and over thirty-two at the end; while any one born after the deposition of Archelaos, must have been under twenty-two at the beginning of that year, under twenty-three at the end, and still under thirty when Pilate quitted Judaea at the end of 35 or beginning of 36 A.D.

Hardly anything is gained by supposing that Quirinius was twice in Syria as governor, and must be the personage to whom the Tivoli inscription refers, *C.I.L.* xiv. 3613, 5, *pro consul Asiam provinciam op.....6, divi Augusti [i]terum Syriam et Ph.....* The years 3 and 2 B.C. are the only years available for his first term of office: see Mommsen, *Res gestae divi Augusti*, p. 166, ed. 1883. Now, any one who attained the age of thirty in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, must have been born in 3 or 2 B.C. But any one born in 3 or 2 B.C., was born after the death of Herod. And any one born in 3 or 2 B.C., was born before the taxing; for any such taxing was impossible until Judaea was brought within the Roman province by the deposition of Archelaos.

The popular explanation is that Christ was born quite at the end of Herod's reign, and thus was not much more than thirty-one in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; so that Luke is justified in saying that Christ was then *about* thirty years old. This is plausible. But then comes an assertion that, besides the taxing under Quirinius in 6 A.D.,

there had been another taxing before Herod died; and that Luke is referring to this. There is not a scrap of evidence in support of that assertion.¹

Luke seems really to be quoting two traditions that are irreconcilable, one of them putting the Nativity before the death of Herod, and the other putting it after the deposition of Archelaos. And, unless some tradition was current that Christ was far younger than is usually supposed, there is no accounting for one of the characteristics of early Christian art.

In almost all the earliest reliefs and frescos Christ is represented as a beardless youth, hardly past boyhood, and quite unlike the bearded adult represented in works of later date. Take, for example, the reliefs on the sarcophagi of Bassus and Probus in S. Peter's at Rome; the mosaics in the apse of S. Vitale and the dome of S. Maria in Cosmedin at Ravenna; and the earlier frescos in the catacombs of Callistos and Domitilla near Rome. Some of these early works may perhaps be due to pagan artists, who were thinking of the Good Shepherd as Hermes Kriophoros, and comparing Christ to Orpheus or Adonis or Antinoos. But the Christians would never have accepted these works, unless they had a tradition of their own that Christ died young; and such a tradition seems to be implied in Luke's statement about the taxing under Quirinius.

CECIL TORR.

¹ No doubt, Tertullian connects the birth of Christ with a taxing under Sentius Saturninus—*adv. Marcionem*, iv. 19—and this Saturninus was governor of Syria some years before Herod died. But here Tertullian can only be misquoting Justin, who uses the same expressions about the taxing under Quirinius, *apologia*, i. 34. And elsewhere Tertullian puts the birth of Christ fifteen years before the death of Augustus—*adv. Judaeos*, 8—thus putting it in 2 B.C., fully two years after the death of Herod.

COLLATION OF THE MADRID MS. OF MANILIUS (M. 31 BIBL. NAZION.) WITH THE TEXT OF JACOB, BERLIN, 1846.

[For a detailed account and criticism of the Madrid MS. I may refer to my article in *Hermathena* xix. pp. 161-186 (1893). R. E.]

Book I.

In a modern hand Manilii Astronomicon & Statii Papinii Sylvae & Asconius Pedianus

in Ciceronem & Valerii Flacci nonnulla. Then immediately—

[Fol. 1^a]
83 Et qđcūq; sagax temptando
repperit usus 84 cōnta (so *m. pr.* then
85 a) laeta *marg.* electa dederunt 86 E
87 E 88 incæ/um nauita 89 int⁷

comercia 90 ex aliis alia pros. 91 uolue-
rum 93 Sollicitare 96 imp. 97 coepit-
que profundam 98 Naturam rerum
causis (so *m. pr.* then ^{et} *(sic)* has been added
before rerum and causis changed to causis)
100 est. 101 tremesceret 103 Peruidit
^{ra} *(sic)*, with a line through, another beneath)
soluitque animis m. rerum 105 solitum
mentis 106 dedux 108 cōphendere
celum 109 Atribuitque 111 ad nuū (in
left marg. numerū, in paler ink: the hand is
of the most formal type, for clearness) 112
uariis 115 contigat After 117 DE
ORIGINE MVNDI:- 118 Et quoniam 128
unde ^{et} *(sic)* reditura *(sic)* 129 secula mille (so
m. pr. corrected by a different hand which has
written close to it at the right mille, draw-
ing a line through mille) 130 poene ex
nichilo summum est nichilumque 134
fingin (or fingun) seemingly the *m. pr.*, a t
has been added later 135 hoc 137 A^t
flamina, but ^t seems later. 138 umor
m. pr., afterwards ^h added above dium per
quattuor 139 prohibetque 140 quic
quam creantur. 141 ^humida (^h later)
143 Quem nexus labilis 144 rapacia
145 Quod latet et tantum supra est homi-
numque diumque 147 quecūque tamen
148 Conuenit coline *marg.* ordine 150
^e still. 152 intenuis 155 flatusque na-
tantis 156 Aequore perfudit *(sic)* (stroke
coeval) 157 exhalet tenuis 158 Aere-
que 160 arenis 162 ^humor (^h coeval)
163 fetata struxerunt equora 164
fluuidum 166 Exiliit 167 mediam
tenet 170 nec aderet 171 Letaque con-
tractis 172 concurrente *m. pr.*, changed
into cōt in longius 174 sub
euntibus 175 Foebus 176 Lunay^e
(second n changed to u) submersos
178 Hesperos inmenso 179 non uno
180 susp^a *marg.* suspensa 181 caderet
subeat 184 assiduos 185 secula 186
foeb^hcat *marg.* foebus eat 190 quod t.

monstrant. 192 ortus ad ortus. 193
occasum ne obitus caelum et cum sole per-
hennet. After 193 QVARE TERRA SIT
ROTVNDA 194 Nec uero tibi natura
uideri *(sic)* ad miranda uideri¹ 197 motus
cursu^hque (strokes coeval) 200 stellæ
203 et toto 207 ~~terren~~ *marg.* teretes (later)
209 querentis 210 ignis 211 eterna
212 nec finis *(sic)* 214 Sic stellas gl. manent
mundumque figurant 216 canopō (v in
rather paler ink) 217 Donec adei^acas² (so
the scribe: in the *marg.* a much later hand
has written niliacas) 218 querent helicen
220 terre uisusque coherent 221 glome-
rabilis 222 deficit 223 Non omnis
confundit sidera g's *(sic)* 224 querunt
g's *(sic)*. [In both vv. a later hand has
written in *marg.* gentes] 227 Seraque
228 forent (. coeval) semel et orta *(sic)*
229 toti 233 accliu^s p. decliua 234
giros 236 g's 237 adortos (so the
scribe: a corrector has added . . . below
ortos, and written arctos in *marg.* on right)
239 uidetus changed to uidetur 243 exitat
orbes, so the scribe: exitat and orbes later
245 locamus 246 Potus distringuet al-
tered to Poⁿtus distringuet¹ 251 tacta,
corrected later to tac^hta 252 Multa
quod in cunctas (then quod is struck
through and Et written before Multa
253 Alter ut 255 lucentis 262 as
Jac. 264 adm. 265 nocantem 267
tum cum 269 contento ~~area~~ *(sic)* dirigit
arcu 271 augusto 272 inflexa defun-
dit urna 274 cludentis (c half erased)
275 Atque consurgit 276 que mundo
277 imoque 278 In diuersa situ 281
Siderens (but the penultimate letter is
badly formed) 282 immotus aft ille *(sic)*
284 conspicit 285 stat robore corporis
ei' (' perhaps later) 290 posset

ROBINSON ELLIS.

¹ Fort. Nec uero admiranda tibi natura uideri.² Seemingly for isiacas.

(To be continued.)

METHODIUS, BISHOP OF OLYMPOS.

A WRITER in the *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1893, p. 54, speaking of the old question as to whether Methodius, bishop of Olympos, was ever bishop of Tyre, says

'Zahn has found evidence from Strabo that Olympos in Lycia also bore the name of Φοινικεύς, and he plausibly conjectures that Jerome came to make Methodius a

Phoenician bishop from having hastily read a description of him as 'Ολύμπου τῆς Λυκίας τοῦ καὶ Φοινικούντος ἐπίσκοπος.' I have not access to Zahn's argument; but I think that a simpler and more probable explanation, differing to no very great extent from Zahn's, is furnished by the facts mentioned on p. 425 of my *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, and in the table of Lycian bishoprics there given.

In that book I have had frequent occasion to speak of the habit of uniting two neighbouring places under one bishop, and styling him sometimes by the name of one place, sometimes of another. When the title is fully and correctly given, it includes both—thus we find ὁ Πυάρον καὶ (Σ)ιδύμων and many similar cases. In the table of Lycian bishops facing p. 424 of the *Histor. Geogr.* it will be seen that ὁ 'Ολύμπου in some

Notitiae corresponds to ὁ Φοινίκων in others. The full title therefore was ὁ 'Ολύμπου καὶ Φοινίκων, and this misled Jerome into the belief that Methodius 'afterwards became bishop of Tyre' in Phoenicia. Mount Phoinikous was near the town of Olympos, and it is quite natural and probable that a settlement on the mountain took the name of the mountain and was united under the same bishop with Olympos. So, e.g., we find Telmessos and the island Makre united under one bishop. In times of trouble the island may have been safer; gradually the name Makre established itself for the bishopric, and now the site of Telmessos is called Makre. So Phoinika is substituted for Olympos in the latest *Notitiae*: it probably had the stronger and safer situation on the mountain.

W. M. RAMSAY.

Eur. *Bacch.* 1058—1062.

Πενθεὺς δ' ὁ τλήμων, θῆλυν οὐχ ὄρων ὄχλον,
ἔλεξε τοιάδ'· ὦ ξέν', οὐ μὲν ἔσταμεν,
οὐκ ἐξικνούμαι μαινάδων ὄσοι νόθων†.
ὄχθον δ' ἐπεμβῆς ἢ ἐλάττην ὑψαύχενα
ἴδουμ'· ἂν ὁρθῶς μαινάδων αἰσχροπυγίαν.

V. 1060 is notoriously corrupt and consequently *multum et diu vexatus*. The situation is a plain one, and so is the general sense of the verse. All the conjectures down to Professor Tyrrell's are of a desperate character. They all emend both the words obelized (not designedly of course, so far as they accept Estienne's text); but the one horn of the verbal dilemma is generally grasped more tenaciously than the other. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*, and so Heath and Hermann read ὄσοις for ὄσοι: but the acceptance of νόθων was left for the latest of the ἐπίγονοι. Let us now try the justly favourite device of 'put yourself in his place' and see what Pentheus would naturally have said, or what you would have said, had you been Pentheus. Poor Pentheus! he cannot see the women; he is impatient. 'Where we stand I can't begin to see anything of the maenads. If I could only mount a hill or climb a tree I could get a fine view of the maenads' rascality.' The words however do not emphasize sufficiently, with any of the conjectures thus far offered (except Elmsley's ὄσον ποθῶ),

the exertion that Pentheus has been making to no purpose—his disappointed efforts. The despairing 'I can't though I want to' does not—*mea quidem sententia* of course—come out strongly enough. Having thus tried to prepare the way, I accept ὄσσοις, reject νόθων (the *nomen* is here an *omen*), and try to find another solution of the difficulty. The end of the verse must have been badly preserved indeed to admit of even a scribe's writing ὄσοι νόθων; but there must have been something there. The hypothesis of the omission of one of twain would seem necessary to explain ὄσοι for ὄσσοις. But νόθων does not begin with C in the alphabet of our *dernier ressort*—nor with anything like it. But though OCCOICNOΘΩΝ will not serve our purpose OCCOICΘONΩΝ will; and here I think we have the clue to the solution. Not to stretch out a long speech, I would rewrite the verse thus:

οὐκ ἐξικνεῖσθαι μαινάδων ὄσσοις σθένω.

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* *

Ath. Pol. Chap. 48.

κἂν τις ἑλλίπη καταβολήν, ἐντεῦθεν γέγραπται,
καὶ διπλοῦν ἀνάγκη τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν καταβάλλειν ἢ
δεδεῶσθαι.

I have been waiting for the appearance of Dr. Sandys' edition before offering a note on this passage. Dr. Sandys prints *ἐνταῦθ' ἐγγέγραπται* for *ἐντεῦθεν γέγραπται*, and gives the following notes: *ἐλλίπη καταβολήν*, 'fail to pay an instalment.' *ἐνταῦθ' ἐγγέγραπται*, 'it is entered in this document'; this seems preferable to *ἐντεῦθεν γέγραπται*, 'a note is made of it from this record' (K.). When I first read this passage in Mr. Kenyon's edition I understood the meaning to be as follows; 'and if any one falls short in respect of an instalment (=fails to pay it in full), from that point (i.e. the point at which the short payment is reckoned) an entry is made (=the amount of shortage is registered), and he has to pay up the balance in duplicate or suffer imprisonment.'

This procedure was devised, not so much against those who failed to pay an instalment altogether, as against those who pretended to have brought their full instalment, and after a deal of shuffling and fumbling produced something short of the full payment, and either endeavoured to get off the payment of the balance, or promised to bring it another time, to be again probably forgotten.

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* *

Cic. Att. v. 12.

Cuius studium in legendo non erectum Themistocli fuga redituque retinetur?

This is evidently either a slip of the memory, or rather pen, on the part of Cicero, or the passage is corrupt. Schutz proposes 'Themistoclis fuga, Alcibiadis fuga

redituque.' Professor Tyrrell 'Themistoclis fuga, Coriolani fuga redituque.' It may be objected to the former that there was nothing specially moving in the return of Alcibiades: to the latter that Coriolanus never returned from banishment in the ordinary sense. He returned as a hostile conqueror: and the fact that Cicero elsewhere compares him to Themistocles is an argument *against* the introduction of his name here, where he would be contrasted with Themistocles. I cannot find that the return of Aristides, one of the most moving passages in Greek history, has been thought of: and I have little doubt that Cicero either accidentally wrote *Themistocli* for *Aristidi* or wrote *Themistoclis fuga, fuga Aristidi redituque*. The omission of *Aristidi* is fairly accounted for by the similarity of the neighbouring letters.

ARTHUR PALMER.

* *

ἀραισιγώνων. In the *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, viii, A. Funck cites and emends many glosses from the great collection of Loewe and Goetz. On p. 379 n. 86 he confesses himself puzzled where a moment's reflexion ought to have resolved his doubt. After citing ii 435 17 *σπανσιγώνων malibarbis*, he remarks '*σπανός* für *σπανσιγώνων* ist griechischen Lexicis bekannt; was aber das griechische *ἀραισιγώνων* iii 329 63 ('de natura corporis humani') mit *malibarbibus* erklärt, bedeutet, sehe ich nicht.' As Liddell and Scott have ten Greek compounds beginning with *ἀραι-*, we need not hesitate to see here an eleventh, *ἀραισιγώνων*.

J. E. B. M.

REMARKS ON THE TEXT OF HERODAS.

I SHOULD like to publish in advance of my edition a few remarks on the text of Herodas:

I. 7. I read ΜΗΤ. *κάλεν—τίς ἐστιν*; 'Ask the visitor to come in:—who is it?' *καλεῖν* is properly used of inviting a visitor; cf. e.g. Lucian i. 40, and especially Chariton p. 172, 4, p. 55, 8.

II. 58. *ἐφ' ἡμέρη* vs Hes. *Op.* 102.

III. 20. *καλὴν κακὴν*?

III. 55. *ὁπῆμος*.

IV. 94. The unmeaning ΔΩΙ or ΛΩΙ should, I believe, be ΜΟΙ. The appearance

of ΜΟΙ in the facsimile at vii. 102 will show how easily the error might be made.

In V. 43, where both Buecheler and Crusius have an unmetrical *ἐάν*, I incline to think Danielssohn right in suggesting <τῇ> σοι *ἄν*, σοι being elided: though I suspect the present text to have been caused rather

ΟΙ

by THICΔN. The Herodotean use confirms me: see Hdt. i. 151, ii. 29, v. 33, vi. 74, ix. 11, 66.

VI. 102. Before ΚΗΝ comes, I think, not ΔΙ but ΓΔΡ.

VII. 17. Probably ἀνο[θεν.—ἀ μάκαρ (or ἐλβία) Μητ[ροῖ, οἱ ἔργ' ἐπόψεσθ'. Cf. Eur. *fr.* 446, Anth. Append. Cougny vi. 46, Philostr. *Ep.* 54, Aristoph. *fr.* 488, Theocr. xv. 146.

VII. 54. The solution of the puzzling traces in the MS. may be δεῖ μάλ' ἔς γ' ἐν ἡσθείας ὑμίας ἀπελθεῖν. 'You must be pleased in respect of one (thing or pair)

before you go.' The scribe appears to have written ΓΕΝΝΗΘΕΙCΔC which would be a very natural error for ΓΕΝΗCΘΕΙCΔC. It looks as though a distinguishing mark had afterwards been added between Λ and ε, and a C inserted between Η and Θ.

WALTER HEADLAM.

EDITIONS OF THE HERODAS PAPYRUS.

Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum, including the newly discovered poems of Herodas, edited by F. G. KENYON, M.A. By order of the Trustees of the British Museum. 1891.

ΗΡΩΝΔΟΥ ΜΙΜΙΑΜΒΟΙ. *Herondas, a first recension*, by WILLIAM GUNION RUTHERFORD, M.A., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΜΙΜΙΑΜΒΟΙ. *Herodas, Facsimile of Papyrus CXXXV. in the British Museum*. By order of the Trustees. 1892.

Herondæ Mimiambi. Edidit FRANCISCUS BURCHELER. Bonnae, 1892. Mk. 2.40.

—: exemplum iteratum. 1892.

Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamben des Herondas: von OTTO CRUSIUS. Leipzig, 1892. Mk. 6.

Herondæ Mimiambi. Edidit OTTO CRUSIUS. (Bibliotheca Teubneriana) Lipsiae, 1892. Mk. 2.40.

It is a matter for national congratulation that the British Museum has secured two such treasures as the papyrus-manuscripts of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία and the *Mimes* of Herondas. There is every probability that papyri will more and more form a most valuable portion of all great collections of manuscripts; and, however fortune may change in the future, the British Museum would now be recognized as surpassed in this respect by no other library. Before the Herondas was acquired, Prof. Blass (in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, vol. i. ed. 2) reckoned the Naples and London collections together as forming a first class; but even though the Epicurean's library from Herculaneum were fully decipherable, its contents hardly attain to the height of varied interest to which our papyri can lay just claims. The collections at Leyden and Berlin contain, as far as is known, little of literary importance: apart from the new speech of Hyperides, the same may be said

of the Paris collection; and the Archduke Rainer's many thousand papyri at Vienna (though such things as the musical score to a chorus of Euripides are of high interest, and we are promised sixty more lines of Callimachus's *Hecale*) are mostly so fragmentary that they stimulate curiosity rather than satisfy it.

Official publications from all these collections have earned the gratitude of scholars: but an English review may refer to the compliment paid by Prof. Diels (in *Deutsch. Literaturz.* 1891, no. 39) to the admirable and exceptional promptitude with which both the Aristotle and the Herondas have been given to the world.

In the *Academy* of Oct. 11, 1890, Professor Sayce published a transcript of a page and two lines of the Herondas. These turn out to be col. 41 and fragment 1, lines 3-4, i.e. mimes 7, 116-129 and 8, 1-3, 6-7. The beginnings of the lines were not given, and it was barely possible even to guess at the significance of the passage.

The reputation Mr. Kenyon deserved and gained from his work on the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία was a guarantee of his success in the easier task of deciphering Herondas. The author's name does not occur in the manuscript, but it contains three passages quoted by Stobaeus (none with perfect accuracy), and two or three others quoted in ancient lexica and collections of proverbs, from Herondas. The transcript, accompanied by notes giving the minutiae of the MS. readings, is of course accurate to a degree: though here and there the untrained reader at all events may hesitate or withhold assent, and occasionally the facsimile shows beyond dispute that a certain reading has been missed, as in l. 68 where *κατάλασιν* is undoubted for the *καταπάλας* of the transcript. Something might be said for the plan of publishing the facsimile along with the transcript: a good deal of vain thought

and conjecture would have been saved if this had been done.

Dr. Rutherford's edition appeared almost simultaneously with the transcript, and was apparently based on the transcript only. This edition was the first attempt to give the distribution of speakers, to mark punctuation, and generally to give the author in a readable form. It supposes that the reader will have the transcript before him. This supposition gives the excuse and the corrective for the fault of the edition—a fault for which Dr. Rutherford has been sufficiently criticized—disregard of the manuscript and consequent licence of conjecture. Take the opening lines: Dr. Rutherford fills up line 1 with Θ[ρ]έσσ[α], which is certain, and line 9 with τί σὺ θ[ε]ός πο[ρ]ῶς ἀνθρώπους; which is not only certain, but brilliant, however easy it may seem when once done; but in line 2 he alters παρ' ἡμέων into παρ' ἡμέας, and in line 3 he writes ἐρεῖδε for εἶσδε of the transcript. In this last case the facsimile would have probably set him on the right track: it gives the plain stop after θύρη, which the transcript neglects, and which must have a meaning: but the παρ' ἡμέων? If παρ' ἡμέας was the original reading, how could it have been corrupted into παρ' ἡμέων? There is a deep difference between different men's minds on such points: but nothing will seem less probable to most readers than that such a change should have happened. The speakers are generally characterized, by hint or otherwise, as early as possible in each mime: and here no doubt Metriehe is made to allude to her country-house in the second line. She is one of the few respectable characters in the book: and her property and position are implied at once.

Dr. Rutherford's work has the boldness, without the caution, of the good pioneer. Those conjectures of his that have been adopted imply only the slightest departure, if any, from the manuscript. Where other scholars have allowed themselves as much freedom as he, they have had no more success. Some of his proposals that have been rejected may yet be adopted, as the ingenious ἦ σφρηγὶς in l. 55, which Prof. A. Palmer approves: but that needs no change from the MS.

His notes are clear and vigorous: there is no mistaking his meaning, and there is no superfluous matter. Whether we agree with him or not, the first attempt to explain the author, without scholia, from internal evidence only, demands and should receive a special respect.

The first impression was soon exhausted, and Dr. Rutherford issued a second, which is also out of print some time ago. Several corrections were introduced, both in text and notes, in this reprint: but the character of the editing was naturally unchanged, marks of haste still remained (e.g. σν unaccented in l. 3, τάλαιά σν in l. 36), and such strange proposals as γερῇ σώσει in 4. 48 were not withdrawn.

Immediately after the appearance of the transcript and of Dr. Rutherford's edition there began what Prof. Crusius calls an 'acerrima velitatio' of scholars conjecturing and explaining. In England valuable proposals were made by Canon Hicks, Mr. Robinson Ellis, Dr. Jackson, Prof. A. Palmer, Mr. Walter Headlam, Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson and others. Mr. Nicholson's letters to the *Academy* were mainly devoted to a keen defence of MS. readings against Dr. Rutherford.

Without exception, it may be said, the conjectures that have stood the test of examination are those that come nearest to the manuscript. In some cases, a conjecture turned out to be the reading of the papyrus, or, as in l. 80, a conjecture that filled up the line received its confirmation from a farther examination of the MS.

Several editions of separate mimes were published in periodicals: Bücheler gave the first mime in *Rhein. Museum*, Kaibel the fourth and sixth in *Hermes*, Gercke and Günther the third in the *Wochenschrift für Klass. Philologie*.

The second complete edition was published by Prof. H. van Herwerden of Utrecht in *Mnemosyne* early in 1892. The editor gives pressure of time as his reason for preferring the pages of that well-known periodical to a separate publication of the mimes, and expresses obligations to van Leeuwen for the removal of the misprints, which he says 'scripta mea cum multo meo detrimento corrumpere solent.' The edition contains notes, critical and explanatory, and as it follows the transcript (the facsimile was not issued in time to be used) much more closely than Dr. Rutherford had done, it marks a distinct advance towards a received text. It does not appear that many independent corrections are due to van Herwerden. His 'facile Atticism,' as Dr. Rutherford has called it, has made him the best follower of Cobet: but the special qualities of the Dutch school are not called for in Herondas, and he has felt rightly that explanation is needed more than conjecture, withdrawing several proposals he had formerly published

in the *Berlin Phil. Woch.* He believes that the mimes were meant for representation on the stage, the meaning being often brought out by the acting: and he suggests that the papyrus was copied from an older manuscript in a difficult cursive hand.

An edition published by the veteran scholar, Prof. Bücheler, in February 1892 was soon sold off, and a re-issue with a few additions and corrections appeared in March. For nearly the whole book the facsimile was available by the time when the first issue appeared: *κατάπλωσιν* is of course read without remark in l. 68 and there is a tone of greater confidence in the general correctness of the MS. readings. The speakers' names are not given in the text, *παράγραφοι* being used instead. This was, no doubt, the old Greek way: but there will be a general hope that the example set by such distinguished scholars as Bücheler and Wilamowitz-Möllendorff in adopting it will not be widely followed. A Latin translation is given below the Greek text, in a somewhat Petronian style, which is not inappropriate: words like *cetipendia* (withdrawn in the second edition), *impilia*, *assatim*, will add to the Latin vocabulary of most readers. The brief notes always make us feel the great learning of the veteran scholar, though we sometimes wish that he had shown it more explicitly, as in the note to 2. 73, where the words 'cf. de historico proditam memoriam' will afford a puzzle. The indices are the most complete that have appeared, being indeed concordances.

Professor Otto Crusius of Tübingen was well known to scholars as editor of the *Philologus*, and by his papers on Greek Paroemiography, Mythology, and proper names: his work on Herondas will bring his name and qualities into a wider reputation.

The preface to the *Untersuchungen* is dated mid-May 1892, that to the edition a month later. The *Untersuchungen* was originally intended to include a fuller treatment of the metre and technique of the mimes: it is interesting to read the author's reason for issuing the book as it is: 'die beiden Ferien- und Arbeitsmonate August und September hab ich, als *iuvenis* im alten und im allerneusten Sinne, unter einem andern Herrn zu dienen.' The facsimile appeared when about half the book was printed: hence the *Nachlese* at the end must be carefully consulted for the author's final views. The book is a commentary, not continuous, but on the more difficult passages only. The learning applied is very great, if sometimes cumbrous: wide knowledge of proverbs and

acuteness in seeing the points implied in the proper names are the most serviceable qualities displayed: and they are qualities especially to be looked for in Prof. Crusius and especially needed in dealing with Herondas.

Crusius' text is as near that of the papyrus, where it is legible, as is consistent with a regard for sense: he is persuaded that grave changes are unnecessary, if the words are properly studied and explained. The difficult question of the dialectic forms is left much as the MS. presents it. Dr. Rutherford's text is ionized throughout: Prof. Crusius thinks that the Coan poet has intentionally mingled Doric forms with the Ionic and Attic, suiting the forms of expression to the characters who use them: 'inepta τάλῃς forma mulieres utuntur cavillantes' (3. 35, 7. 88): *ὑμέων* is a cretic in 2. 27, *ἡμέων* a molossus in l. 46, though *ὑμέας* and *ὑμέων* are generally contracted into spondees. Where the MS. is illegible, he allows himself free scope: everything is filled up, though the careful use of brackets usually marks every letter that is not vouched for (sometimes the bracket has been omitted as in *ἡμέας* l. 16, where the MS. shows only the final letter): 'audax esse volui, ubi alii cauti fuerunt, cautus, ubi fuerunt audaces.' The critical notes give a very full collation of the MS. and all conjectural supplements and alterations are carefully assigned to their authors. Some marks of haste appear in both books: these will be found removed, as far as the text-edition is concerned, in an article of Prof. Crusius in *Philologus* for 1892, p. 536, where he accepts Meister's *λήξεε* (from *λάσκω*) in 3. 11. It was almost inevitable that the author should change his opinion on several points: in an excellent review article (on the English editions) in *Liter. Centralb.* for Sept. 12, 1891, he described Rutherford's *Ἰπίσκε* in 3. 71 as a 'wunderhübsche End-Koseform,' but he ignores it in his edition.

Crusius' indices are excellent, though the index of words is not a concordance as Bücheler's is: the list of proper names marks with an asterisk those names which are found in inscriptions or myths of Cos. He gives also a useful bibliographical list of books and articles on the subject: to this list may now be added Blass' review of Crusius in *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1892, p. 857, Weil's review of the later literature in *Journal des Savants* 1893, p. 18, and Setti's *Mimi di Eroda* (Modena 1893).

It may be desirable to mention in this review certain opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, not only in the

editions mentioned above, but also in articles and reviews. Few contributions to the knowledge of Herondas are more important than some such articles, especially those of Prof. Blass in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeiger*.

The author's name is given sometimes as Herodas, and sometimes as Herondas, by ancient authorities. The form Herondas is the rarer, and its rarity has determined Crusius in its favour. The occurrence of Herodas in Greek Egyptian inscriptions such as those given in *Notices et extraits des MSS.* xviii. p. 360 and *Classical Review* 1891, p. 483, is of no weight in the matter. ΗΡΟΙΔΑΣ occurs in a Lesbian inscription (*C.I.G.* add. 2197c). A Herondas, son of Alciades, was buried at Heraclea Pontica (*Mith. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.* iv. 18). Names in -ωνδας are mainly Boeotian, and such forms must have come to Cos with the immigration from Orchomenus in the fourth century B.C.: possibly the names in -ίος and -ίχη have the same origin.

The reign of the third Ptolemy seems to be generally accepted as the most probable date: though Mr. Maunde Thompson (*Palaeography*, p. 113) says 'Herodas flourished in the first century B.C.' Prof. van Herwerden proposed, but withdrew, the singular opinion that the fourth mime is much older than the others. Cos is certainly the scene of the second and fourth mimes, and nothing seems to require us to suppose that the others are to be placed elsewhere. Many of the names, as Crusius' index shows, occur in Coan inscriptions and other records: and the *Διὸν Μένωνος* of Paton and Hicks' *Inscr.* 300 comes near the *Ἀμφιπταλὴ Μένωνος* of 5. 3. The prevalence of names beginning with *Μητρ-* implies an Asiatic locality, although Paton and Hicks' index gives only two such for Cos. The names are generally what we should look for in the characters described: we know what to expect from a Gyllis or a Battaros son of Sisymbras, as from a Lady Booby or a Mrs. Slipslop.

As to the date of the papyrus, Blass (in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1891, p. 728) holds that the spelling is that of Tryphon and his time: in the second century A.D. we should have had many more cases of *αι* and *ε* confused (*ἡμεθα* 3.45 is about the only instance); the rare accentuation too he thinks is old. On the other hand Mr. Maunde Thompson (*Palaeography*, p. 128) gives lines from the papyrus 'as an example of a rougher style of uncial writing of about the third century. The corrections written over the text are taken by Bücheler as really corrections, by

Crusius as conjectures (except when obviously from the first hand), by Blass as various readings noted from other copies. Where the MS. is corrupt, it may very possibly turn out to be hopelessly so: but, in the main, the most careful readers and followers of it have got the best text. Blass still holds that in 1.74 it reads *ὁν δὲ γρήμιασι*.

As regards religion, Weil has pointed out that invocations of the *Μοῖραι* (as in 1. 11, 66 and 4. 30) are rare elsewhere, and were probably characteristic of certain localities. *ἵγυεῖα* in 4.94, as Mr. Paton showed in *Class. Rev.* 1891, p. 483, is probably a *παιν βένι*. The exact ritual meaning of *ἐπιδόρπα* in 4.13 has not been explained: it may be found to determine the time of day when the mime is supposed to begin and so to explain line 54.

The bearing of this fourth mime on the history of art has been treated by Mr. A. S. Murray in *Class. Rev.* 1891, p. 389, by Dr. Waldstein (reported in *Class. Rev.* 1892, p. 136), and by Gurlitt in *Arch. Epigr. Mittheil. aus Oest.-Ungarn* xv. p. 169. Prof. Diels pointed out that the mime gives the view of art's mission prevalent at the time — portraiture, truth to life, and realism of presentation. Dr. Meister, in a paper before the *Sächs. Ges. der Wissensch.* (reported in *Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.* for 24 Dec. 1892), gives an interesting explanation of 4.59–, as a group consisting of Isis, Harpocrates, Apis, Horus and Anubis, remarking that *παστός* in Greek temples is only used in connexion with shrines for the worship of Egyptian deities. Other questions of *realia*, which may be of importance in fixing the scene, whether Cos or elsewhere, have regard to the coinage, to the names of months (Taureon 7.86), festivals (Gerania 5.80), and proverbs (Crusius' explanation of *μᾶλλον ὁ Φρύξ* in 5.14 seems hardly to be borne out by the ancient authorities, and does not *τὰ Ναννάκου* of weeping in 3.10 refer to the Phrygian story of the deluge with Nannacus as its Noah?).

'Some are darker than you would like, and not family subjects' as Mr. Borthrop Trumbull said of the Old Masters. Many details are far from clear, but there can be no doubt about the kind of life portrayed. Hardly a single character reaches the standard of common decency. Probably no one has doubts now as to the meaning of the sixth mime. Coarse and cruel abuse of slaves appears throughout and is taken as a matter of course. But, given the characters and the situations, the treatment is

excellent in the true classical style. The sentiments are as 'just' as in Racine.

Three recent theories bearing on the transmission of ancient texts are on their trial, and any new papyrus may be regarded as supplying a test of their truth. But it cannot be said that any very remarkable evidence can be brought out of this papyrus to bear on any of the three—Wilamowitz' theory of the publishers' selection of texts about Hadrian's time, Usener's theory of the corruption and carelessness of most papyri, and Rutherford's theory of adscripts. In 4.7 Crusius does not mention that Dr.

Rutherford reads *δορκάδες* in his second issue, on the supposition that *δοτράγαλοι* is an adscript.

The enormous destruction of papyri in Egypt, which went on apparently in the eleventh century above all, must have spared many copies. More literary resurrections may be hoped for with good fortune; and we may be startled next by the discovery of Philochorus' *Atthis*, a play of Cratinus or of Menander, or Sappho herself.

R. A. NEIL.

LANG'S HOMER AND THE EPIC.

Homer and the Epic, by ANDREW LANG, M.A., etc. Longmans Green and Co. 1893. 9s. net.

WHEN a man of genius and a poet condescends to the dusty arena in which prosaic scholars rend one another over the body of Homer, he is sure to throw a new light on some things and to dispel some of the mist brooding over us. In this and similar cases however his arm is apt to be weakened by his not getting up the details with proper care. Not of these is Mr. Lang; he may say with Madame Bovary 'J'ai tout lu'; German and English, the separatist criticism is at his fingers' ends. His book is a really important contribution to the Homeric question, as I think must be acknowledged by even his most determined adversaries. At the same time we must allow that Mr. Lang is rather a special pleader and partisan than impartial judge. So perhaps are all the others who discuss this subject; so perhaps must they ever be. As Mr. Lang says, it is largely an affair of temperament. 'Our prepossession, as lovers of poetry, is in favour of the unity of the *Iliad*. The prepossessions of Mr. Leaf, Mr. Grote, Mr. Jebb, and other critics are in favour of separatism' (p. 135). True; but this is to admit a partial stand-point. Others also are lovers of poetry who yet, when it comes to a scientific problem, must give up their natural prepossession; Mr. Lang does it himself to some extent, as we shall see.

But the problem is literary, cries Mr. Lang at the threshold; it is literary and you try to solve it by other methods.

What then is the literary method? He does not tell us. Let us see how he applies his method to the tenth book, the least defensible of all the *Iliad*. In the body of the work he faintly defends it, on the ground that 'if it were possible, somewhere, somehow, to foist a whole book into the sacred text of Homer, then it would also be possible to foist many others.' We are not to confess to this interpolation for fear we should have to give up our cherished prepossession. Is this fair argument? But in a note at the end of the volume, he appears to throw over the tenth book, *because* Mr. Monro points out to him that it is one thing to foist in a whole book simply, another to foist in complicated changes such as those required by Bergk's theory of the *ὁπλοποία*. So soon then as it does not threaten his main position he is willing to let this outpost pass into the enemy's hands, but he will not look at the matter as a scientific question at all. If *this* is the literary method, I confess to preferring the scientific, when it is really scientific. Mr. Lang is here seen at his worst, and if his method were always like this it would not help us much. But it is unfair to judge by one instance; let us take another. Mr. Lang says of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's theories (p. 254): 'Now here at least we are on fair literary ground. These passages are among the immortal glories of art and of the *Odyssey*. A critic who assures us that they are the work of a "slenderly gifted botcher of the seventh century" may fairly be said to put himself out of court.' Such criticism is truly scientific, for it argues not from personal

prejudice but from acknowledged facts. Such is a great deal of Mr. Lang's criticism, and it comes when it was much needed. Thus the remarks that 'the *Iliad* is literature, ancient and warlike; it is not a chapter of scientific military history' (p. 170) and that 'General Marbot declares that he could not understand the accounts which military writers give, even of the battles in which he himself was engaged' (p. 158), taken together, should make one very cautious of arguing from inconsistencies and difficulties in the battle at the wall. In fact the literary method proper is the comparison of a literary work with other work of the same kind, as opposed to the kind of criticism which regards the prologue of a poem as a legal bond beyond which the poet may not go, the chronology of a poem as a piece of strict mathematics, and the absence of any mention of ship-fights as evidence that the poet knew nothing of them. 'Applying this test to Shakespeare,' remarks Mr. Lang pleasantly, 'we find that he was ignorant of tobacco.'

At the same time a truly scientific method will not be simply literary in this sense. Grammar, metre, plot, every straw we can catch hold of must be taken into account in judging between the different hypotheses that present themselves. Mr. Lang is almost entirely devoted to the literary method, but it is a great thing to have that set before us with so much force and skill, and the perusal of his work must be an excellent tonic for a mind brought so low by a long course of scholastic purging that it squeamishly rejects one passage of Homer after another on evidence which would not hang a dog.

In dealing with the theories of Kirchhoff and his followers anent the *Odyssey*, Mr. Lang has throughout an easy task; with Voltairean scorn he exposes their ridiculous reliance on tests that are no tests of poetry whatever they might be of a legal document, their utter incompetence to judge poetry at all, their contradictions of one another and of themselves. The crazy 'redactions' built up by these gentlemen remind one of Tobiah the Ammonite's description of the wall of Jerusalem: 'If a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone wall.' How much more when Mr. Lang takes the trouble to assault them! The whole of this part of the book is very good reading, especially the parodies of the dislocation of the *Odyssey* by applying the 'higher criticism' to *Marmion* and *Ivanhoe*. Such is the most effective weapon to use for such

absurdities, and it is refreshing in view of some timid statements in English writers of authority to meet with one who is not afraid to speak out what every one with an atom of poetical taste must surely think in his heart.

But we cannot here linger over the *Odyssey*; a very different problem demands our attention. Nothing perhaps could make one more disinclined to believe a word of the disintegrating criticism of the *Iliad* than the sorry spectacle we have just touched on. But we must put all that out of our heads along with the natural and religious reluctance every lover of poetry entertains at first to such a task, and we must judge Mr. Lang's defence on its merits. He begins by stating and criticizing Wolf's position, and then goes through the plot of the *Iliad* with a running fire of objections to modern, especially Mr. Leaf's, separatist theories. In fact he opposes two different views by different means, first the Wolfian which is now exploded, second that of Grote and the rest which holds the field. The former then need not detain us save on one point. 'Though Wolf curiously exaggerated the value of his witnesses' (to the story about Pisistratus), says Mr. Lang on p. 69, 'yet he showed his acuteness by projecting a theory of this kind. Something of the sort is absolutely necessary to all who argue freely against the unity and originality of the epics.' And this argument he brings up again and again; it is his first chief argument against separation; who did all this, when, where? who could add great pieces to the Bible and Domesday Book of Greece? what poet or rhapsode or diaskeuwast or editor could palm off his work on all Greece, so that it was incorporated with poems into which Athens could or would interpolate next door to nothing in the seventh century? This question is one that certainly cries for an answer. Mr. Leaf tries to answer it by supposing a 'school.' Mr. Lang will have nothing to do with a school, and is on strong ground here in so far as there is no evidence for such a thing. But it is one thing to say that we do not know and cannot conceive how a process took place, another thing to say that therefore it could not. A strong instance can be quoted from the Bible itself. Mr. Lang probably contemns Old Testament criticism in general no less than Homeric; but this is a case where no sceptic can refuse assent. In the golden age of Hebrew literature an anonymous and at the same time a most sublime rhapsody was appended to the

book of the greatest Hebrew prophet; in the same age the ode on the fall of Babylon, which can only be ranked with the greatest choruses of Aeschylus, was thrust into the very body of the same prophet—how? and when? and where? and by whom? what committee of recension arranged Isaiah? We do not know and cannot conceive, but that it was done is patent to every one. It was not an epic that was so handled, there was no story to make or mar, but in all other respects the case is parallel. If such things can be done in Israel, why not in Achaia? And this case partly answers Mr. Lang's second objection. Poets are not self-denying, he says, they will not sink their own names in the work of others. Who ever heard of great poets adding to the building of their predecessors and doing nothing for their own hand? They did in the case of Isaiah. But perhaps a better answer is that we know nothing about what they may have done for themselves. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* must be in all likelihood a mere fragment of an immense body of such poetry. They have survived by natural selection, by their inherent nobility and vigour, and they may have carried down the stream portions of the work of other than their own authors when the independent poems of these men went to the bottom and were lost.¹ Berni's *rifacimento* of Boiardo might well survive when Berni's independent poems should be unknown. How does Mr. Lang know that the supposed expanders were so self-denying? They may have claimed their additions noisily enough in their own day, and yet their names be unknown in a short time. For we know not those of the author of the *Cypria* or the *Little Iliad*, which were composed in a time nearer to history and when poets were quite as likely to desire immortality for their names.

Mr. Lang will say: You assume these other poets not to have such nobility and vigour as the true Homer—and they have it. I make a distinction. He can write an episode or an idyll who cannot plan and execute an epic. Is it not possible that a poet might compose the ninth *Iliad* who should fail if he had to frame a grand whole? Apollonius, Tasso, Camoens, Tennyson could do great things as episodes, without the least sign of the architectonic grasp needed

¹ This has certainly happened with Mozart's *Requiem*, in which critics say it is impossible to distinguish the genuine elements; who would ever have heard of Süssmayer had he not been the di-skeuast of Mozart?

for an *Odyssey*. The ninth *Iliad* may be far beyond any of the men I have mentioned, but it does not follow that its author could have made a great narrative poem that should have lived on its own merits.

I come to the third objection, that these poets are not only self-denying but all have the grand style.² This is beyond doubt a portentous difficulty for the separatists, and one which they have never fairly answered. Prof. Jebb said lightly that it only means the epic style; Mr. Lang disposes of this convincingly and briefly (p. 151 note). Mr. Leaf says that 'nothing is easier than to catch a style'; a style, yes, but the *grand* style? He refers to other periods in which poetry, painting, music blossomed with astonishing fulness and many contemporary geniuses. Mr. Lang answers that we do not confuse their styles, we cannot mistake Quinault for Molière and so on. And this being a literary question, he does not condescend to notice art or music. But we might mistake Corneille for Racine, or a page of Tourneur for Shakespeare, if we were foreign critics as we are here. Moreover, most if not all critics do feel very conscious of two distinct styles in Homer, that of the bulk of the *Iliad* and that of the *Odyssey*, though the difference is assuredly not so great as that between *Comus* and *Samson*, *Twelfth Night* and *Cymbeline*. This of course only accentuates the difficulty of the general style of the *Iliad* being so uniform, and the fact remains that if there were really many great poets at work on the epic the phenomenon is absolutely unique in literature. There are many instances of one great poet varying much in style in a long life, there is not one to be found of two *great poets* (for it is of no avail to quote newspaper writers or second-rate writers of any kind) with a style so similar as that of *Iliad* xxiv. to the *Odyssey* or of *Iliad* vi. and xvi. to each other. I do not say that this is absolutely fatal to the hypothesis of several 'strata,' but at any rate it is a consideration which must not be burked or put off with answers such as it has hitherto received.

Fourthly and lastly Mr. Lang tries to defend the unity of authorship of the *Iliad* by the unity of plot. Here I think he fails. Indeed in the case of books ii.—ix. he scarcely attempts a serious defence, and prefers the easier and more diverting occupation of picking to pieces the reconstructions of Fick, Leaf, etc. Much fun is made of

² Or several of them, at any rate. And that style is the *same* for so many of them; or if not, let some one point out the differences.

Fick's Agamemnon, who goes out fighting in his tunic and sandals,¹ but this does not prove that ii.—ix. were part of the original plot. The impossibility of joining i. on to xi. is not surprising; the surprising thing is that any one should expect it to be possible. Here we have *ex hypothesi* a shortish poem dislocated by insertion of a gigantic mass of alien matter, and yet we are to be able to pull out the intruded wedge so neatly that the edges of the torn asunder original shall spring together again without a trace of their disruption. Who can believe this natural, who can say what may not and must not have gone from between them? Whenever the poems were first written, whenever the additions were made and by whomsoever, much here and there must have been lost irretrievably. Mr. Lang himself hints that the original termination of the *Odyssey* may have so perished (p. 319) and I have no doubt he is right. But if this has happened, as it almost must have happened in different parts of the *Iliad*, here surely we have just the place where we should expect it. Agreeing then with Mr. Lang that the *juncturae* suggested are not very satisfactory, we still dissent from his conclusion that the whole of the 'early expansions' were part of the original. The greater part may have been due to the same poet, and if that is allowed Mr. Lang protests that he will be content. Only he does not see how we can tell original from addition. It is hardly needful to recapitulate the arguments, but surely it is a literary treatment of the question to ask when any other great poet ever handled a plot in such a way. His doing it may be accounted for by the desire of his knightly audience to hear more of the great war, but if so they did not cause him to add any unity to his fable.² We can imagine a poet wishing to gather a picture of the war with exploits of several heroes into one whole by connecting them with the story of the supreme hero of all, as the *Odyssean* poet has linked the

vórois of other heroes with that of Odysseus; but if he had a free hand and thought out his plan before beginning the execution, he would surely not have composed it in its present form. It is a question of probabilities, and what seems more probable to one does not to another. Mr. Lang makes a great deal of the violated oath as an integral part of the plot. But what has the final overthrow of Troy to do with a poem in which Troy is never overthrown? His defence of the ninth book appears to me successful enough from the point of view of the plot, but the linguistic difficulties are too formidable to get over. This again is the case with the last two books; they close the poem admirably and one would not hesitate to ascribe them to the original poet if it were not for their resemblance to the *Odyssey* in language and moral feeling. Acknowledging this, Mr. Lang argues that the manners and customs remain unaltered. This only proves that the interval is not likely to have been very great. But one cannot argue here with him until he definitely states whether he does or does not believe in one poet or in two for the two epics; he wavers and falters and will not speak out, but upon the whole seems to believe in two. If so, it is easy for him to ascribe the funeral of Patroclus and the redeeming of Hector to the later poet, who assuredly was capable of composing that or anything else that is deepest in pathos.

But it is the *ὁπλοποιία* that involves the worst difficulties of all to my mind. Mr. Lang's defence is brilliant, and as far as the cry of Achilles over the trench goes I for one cordially agree with him, even if the trench itself be cut out. But the question is too complicated to discuss here with even the least necessary elaboration.

I have said above that Mr. Lang does admit some additions; let us see what they are. He inclines to think that one is the building of the wall (p. 122); he finds book viii. puzzling (124), also the episode of Phoenix (144); he finds confusion in xiii.—xv. (164, 169, 171, 173); the speech of Achilles about Neoptolemus in xix. must go apparently (199); the twentieth book 'is mainly made up of passages which scarcely admit of an honest defence' (202); 'we may hope' that the Theomachy is late (210); the last three games in xxiii. go. And in an appended note he gives up book x. This is a good deal to have got from such a pronounced conservative, and the Phoenix episode at any rate is a passage of splendid style. If even Mr. Lang goes so far, it may

¹ Has Mr. Lang observed that Diomedes in the tenth book which he once defended goes to the council in nothing but a lion-skin and a spear?

² 'This [mythology etc.] explains much,' says Lang, discussing the twentieth book, 'but it does not explain the prologue of the book (1—74) heralding a divine battle which is not fought in this but in the next book. The strange thing is that, when the prologue and the fight were divorced, the diaskenast did not join them more skilfully.' Cannot he see that this is the very difficulty about the enormous digression which follows the prologue of the whole epic (book i.)? He does explain much, but he does not explain the prologue heralding events which do not happen for thousands of lines.

surely be asserted without fear that the defence of the *Iliad* as a whole is no longer possible to any one, that the poem has been a great deal meddled with, and in fact, in the words of Mr. Darwin, 'in such a muddle every man must hope and believe as he can.' It is a realm of *πίστις* and *εἰκαρία*, nothing that can be called *ἐπιστήμη*.

One consideration is forced very prominently forward by this book, the great antiquity of the poems as we have them. 'We may see how little Athens, with all her advantages, could interpolate the poems, by the very scarcity of allusions to the city.... How very little even an ambitious and poetic state could do in the way of interpolating. She could not introduce the Aristeia of a local hero' (p. 71). In Solon's time the text appears to have been fixed almost as much as it is now. Moreover by that date we have epic poets imitating the old ones, men whose names we know, men who would be ambitious for glory. Supposing such men to undertake and to be able to carry out decently the task of working over and actu-

ally improving into shape the old poems, what a noise we should have heard about it. They *could* not have got their new editions accepted when nations already appealed to the old ones as sacred books. No one can seriously suppose that this does not apply as much to *Odyssey* as to *Iliad*. Yet we have German critics bringing down the date of the *Odyssey* to the second half of the seventh century, nay to the middle of the sixth. Such notions might be left to jostle with circle-squaring and flat-earth philosophy, if it were not for the fact that Prof. Jebb in a moment of weakness has declared in his generally so admirable book on Homer that Kirchhoff's late date cannot be proved wrong. Mr. Lang has proved it wrong with as much cogency as can possibly be expected in a literary problem.

Space fails me to speak of the charming introduction, of the chapters on other epics, Greek and barbarian, among which one would have liked to find the epic of the Cid included, and on archaeology.

ARTHUR PLATT.

HOLLAND'S TRANSLATION OF PLUTARCH'S *ROMAN QUESTIONS*.

Plutarch's Roman Questions: PHILEMON HOLLAND's translation, edited with introductions by F. B. JEVONS. (Bibliothèque de Carabas, Vol. VII.) 10s. 6d.

It was a happy thought to reprint, in a series so handy and attractive, this quaint translation of a very curious work. Holland's Pliny and Plutarch are almost unique among translations. They not only reproduce their originals with sufficient accuracy to be useful, but they give them a fresh and a genuine literary value. They contain an extraordinary wealth of English, and a quaint felicity of phrase, which should make them better known than they are to students of English literature, who might in reading them kill two birds with one stone. Let us hope that other fragments of them may find editors as good as Mr. Jevons.

The volume is issued chiefly for the benefit of students of religion and folklore, and Mr. Jevons's introduction is entirely devoted to those subjects. There are however other questions of interest suggested by Plutarch's work, which would doubtless have found place in the introduction had the size of the volume allowed. Where did Plutarch find

his information on so many points of curious detail? How far does he reflect the learning of Varro and Verrius Flaccus, and did that learning come to him through the Greek medium of Juba, the most learned of the kings? At what period in his life did he put these questions together, and what is their relation to his Roman Lives? Did he then know Latin even in the haphazard way which he acknowledges in his Life of Demosthenes? He is so liable to make serious blunders of detail in writing of the Romans, that it may be dangerous for unclassical folklorists to be using his material without some kind of criticism to guide them. A single error may lead, and often has led, to a whole train of wrong reasoning.

But Mr. Jevons's introduction, though it could not supply this kind of criticism, is full of valuable suggestions. He begins with an account of the Roman religion,—almost the only one, strange to say, which has been published in our language for many years; this occupies nearly eighty pages, and is followed by sections on sympathetic magic, and more especially on the mysterious qualities of beans, and on Aryan marriage,

which is treated of at considerable length. In dealing with this last question, he speaks as an authority, and I shall not attempt to criticize his account further than to say that it is most lucidly and happily expressed, and will repay careful reading.

In dealing with the great bean-puzzle he does not seem to me very successful. Beans appear as 'medicine' in so many different ways, that it is hardly to be expected that we should be able to arrive at any explanation which will cover them all; the puzzle is not of supreme importance, and can wait for its solution awhile. Meanwhile it may be judicious not to stir up the mud by random conjectures. Mr. Jevons concludes that beans were eaten by the Romans at funeral feasts in order 'to convey the propagating powers of the deceased to his kinsmen'; and he quotes Pliny's statement that 'the spirit of the deceased was in the bean.'¹ I would invite his attention to a genuine bit of old Italian folklore preserved by Ovid; he may be able to co-ordinate it with his view, though I confess I cannot do so to my own satisfaction. Writing of the Lemuria in May, as celebrated in the Italian household, Ovid gives a common receipt for getting rid of ancestral ghosts (*Fasti* v. 429 foll.). Among the items we find the following:

Cumque manus puras fontana perluit unda,
Veritur, et nigras accipit ore fabas,
Aversusque iacit. Sed dum iacit, 'Haec ego
mitto,'
'His' inquit 'redimo meque meosque
fabis.'
Hoc novies dicit, nec respicit: umbra
putatur
Colligere et nullo terga vidente sequi.

When he has said 'Manes exite paterni' nine times, he may look round, and the rite will be completed. Again, when describing the Feralia in February, he gives a graphic picture of an old woman performing various magical tricks, while she 'septem nigras versat in ore fabas' (ii. 571 foll.).

Mr. Jevons's account of the religion of the Romans, which occupies the first few sections of his introduction, is remarkably clear and explicit, considering the extreme

difficulty of the subject. He seems, if I may say so, to be able to speak with perfect confidence of ideas and practices of which we hardly know anything until they had already begun to be overlaid with other ideas and practices imported from Greece. There is much truth, no doubt, in his main contention, which may be expressed in the words he quotes from Preller, that the belief of the Romans in gods may be termed more rightly *pandaemonism* than polytheism. But he seems to me to push this view a little too far,—much farther at any rate than Preller himself would have countenanced. He seems to rely on Mommsen and even on Ihne, and also on writers of *Religionsgeschichte*. The latter I should be disposed to distrust in their dealings with the Romans, and even Mommsen himself has been chiefly occupied with other matters. But, fortified with these, he contrasts the Roman religious ideas in the strongest way with those of the Greeks. The Greeks had gods, myths, and oracles: the Romans had none of these. Such definite assertions need qualification. I must not be led into a lengthy criticism, but I will venture the opinion, based on the studies of several years, that the Romans had not only the material out of which gods, myths, and oracles are made, but also had gone some way towards their development when they were invaded and conquered by Greek ideas. It is hardly to be believed that Greek personal gods should have found so congenial a soil in the minds of a people who, to use Mr. Jevons's expression, had only fetiches to worship. We used once to believe that English feudalism dated from the Conquest; more careful research has shown that practices akin to those of feudalism had long been growing in England,—that the Conqueror did not force on us a wholly new system. In the same way I think it might be shown that the Greek religious forms were engrafted in Italy on ideas which were already beginning to approximate to them: and further, that the contrast which Mr. Jevons so strongly accentuates should not be looked at simply as a contrast between Greeks and Italians, but rather as one between the highly literary form of the religion of the educated Greek and the undeveloped ideas of the ordinary Greek as well as the ordinary Italian.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

¹ As a matter of fact Plutarch does not say that beans were eaten on these occasions; the word he uses is *χρῶνται*. Pliny (*N. H.* xviii. 118) says 'parentando adsumitur'; and so also Festus (s. v. *fabam*), 'parentalibus adhibetur sacrificiis.'

DOWDALL'S EDITION OF THE *METAMORPHOSES*.

Ovid's Metamorphoses. Book I. With English Notes and Various Readings by the Rev. L. D. DOWDALL, LL.B., B.D. Cambridge: University Press. 1892. 1s. 6d.

THE easy and interesting character of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and its extreme length warrant a selection, and justify Mr. Dowdall's edition of the first book, which contains an introduction on the life and works of Ovid, and notes addressed to sixth form schoolboys and undergraduates. The notes are fairly satisfactory, but throughout there are signs of haste, and of unfamiliarity with much that has been written on Ovid; and the parallel passages and various readings (the latter taken at second-hand from printed sources) seem rather excessive. The introduction is pleasantly written, but is not free from inaccuracies: thus it would have been wiser to leave unmentioned the identification, now abandoned, of Corinna with Julia; and not to revive the ridiculous error so often disproved, that Ovid's daughter was Perilla. Exsilium is not the technical term for the severest, as opposed to relegatio the mildest form of banishment (p. x.); nor is it correct to speak of 'the patrician broad purple stripe (*latus clavus* p. ix.)'. The statement 'The *Fasti*, in six books, ... though originally in twelve' will mislead others, as Mr. Dowdall has himself been misled, either by Trist. ii. 549 foll., or by Haupt, *Einleitung* p. 6. Magnus, whose edition Mr. Dowdall professes to have used, might have saved him from this error; *Einleit.* p. ii. 'Das Werk war also auf 12 Bücher angelegt. Der an Leib und Seele gebrochene Dichter vermochte es in Tomi nicht zu vollenden.' See also Peter's *Fasti* ed. 3, i. p. x., 'Wohl aber darf man annehmen, dass O., wenn er damals auch 12 Bücher *Fastorum* 'scripsit' 'unter der Feder gehabt hat,' sie doch noch nicht sämtlich ausgearbeitet hatte, und dass zur Zeit seiner Verbannung nur die ersten 6 Bücher vollendet waren, die übrigen 6 sich noch in den ersten Anfängen befanden.' It would appear that Mr. Dowdall has hardly brought himself abreast of the

best current Ovidian criticism. 'Agrippa Posthumus,' 'connection,' 'reflection,' are slips (p. xi.): 'Medicamina Faciei' (p. xiii.) is surely a form impossible to Ovid.

I doubt the propriety of reprinting a page or more of readings from Mr. Ellis' publication of the Harleian MS., in the same form as that in which Mr. Ellis has printed them. An editor is justified in using a collation in his notes, but surely not in thus reprinting it. And undigested various readings are apt to disagree with schoolboys.

The notes strike me as often rather unpractical. What is the good of this sort of thing: '286 *arbusta* = *arbores*: what is primary sense?'; or 64 '*zephyro*, fr. ζόφος: when it = "balmy zephyrs" (cf. Rejected Addresses viii.) the plur. is used'? Why should such absurd etymologies as *aether* from ἀἰ θέω or (68) or ἀἰθρῶς from ἀἴω ἀθρῶ be mentioned? The abbreviations are perplexing, e.g. 'Keight.' for Keightley (7), 'Rob.' for Roby (66), Rich. 'A.A.' (sic) for Rich's Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities (98), 'Ἐρνός being conn. with Sansk. *Saranyu*' (241), 'the dau. of Saturn' (611); such compendia are hardly recognized.

The notes contain too many mere numerical references, such as are rarely looked out by schoolboys, and too much recondite matter. And in this connexion the citations of the Greek version of Planudes seem to be out of place in a school-book. Planudes is no first-rate authority for the text, and his Greek equivalents will not appeal to schoolboys or undergraduates. We are told in the preface that 'it seemed desirable to indicate the varieties of readings exhibited by the more important manuscripts, as an introduction to textual criticism'; but Mr. Dowdall himself hardly seems to have any clear critical theory, or any light to throw on the obscure problems surrounding the Ovidian text. A thorough revision would remove blemishes, which after all are not considerable, and which mar what is otherwise a useful edition.

S. G. OWEN.

FOWLER'S CITY-STATE OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

The City-state of the Greeks and Romans.

A Survey Introductory to the Study of Ancient History, by W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A., Fellow and Sub-Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. London, Macmillan and Co., and New York. 1893. 5s.

THIS little book is excellent both in design and in execution, and it supplies a want which has been much felt by those engaged in teaching ancient history. To appreciate it properly, it is necessary to judge it as an educational work. It would be unfair to compare it with the book with which comparison is most natural, for as the author himself modestly says there is nothing new in it; but if it has neither the brilliancy nor the originality of Fustel de Coulanges' monograph, it is both wider in scope and more accurate in details. As an introduction to ancient history it will be most useful, it puts in a clear and interesting form the general characteristics of ancient political life, and gives just that explanation of the peculiarities of ancient constitutions, the absence of which often makes history so meaningless.

In his exposition Mr. Fowler does not originate any new theories, nor is he the adherent of any particular school; his explanations are however always bright, vigorous and clear, and generally accurate. In a few points however the work is open to some improvement. I cannot help thinking that the attention of the reader is not sufficiently directed to a recognition of the great number and variety of the Greek cities; e.g. in the chapter on the aristocracies, much fuller illustration might have been given; here as elsewhere there is too little said of the states besides Athens and Sparta. This is a common fault in the teaching of Greek history, and it is one that could easily have been avoided in an introductory sketch of this kind. Another point which is not quite sufficiently explained is that of serfdom. There are a few pages devoted to a discussion of slavery in connection with the Athenian democracy, but there is no reference to the very general prevalence of agrarian serfdom in the earlier state of society; but the most serious fault is in connection with a kindred subject.

Mr. Fowler devotes a whole chapter to the genesis of the city-state, in which he

uses the latest researches and speculations on the development of society. Referring chiefly to Attic history, he traces the growth of the city-state from the village community. He begins by giving a description of the village community drawn chiefly from Teutonic and Slavonic institutions; then, referring to a well-known passage of Aristotle, he shows that the πόλις was preceded by a period when men lived *κατὰ κώμας*, and finally appears to identify with the hypothetical village community not only the Greek κώμαι but also the φρατρίαι and γένη, and describes them repeatedly as village communities. In so doing it is clear that he has confounded two perfectly distinct forms of society. Readers of Mr. Seebohm's work will remember the contrast he makes between the village community of Teutonic England and the tribal or class community of Celtic lands; in the latter the tie is one of kindred, real or fictitious: in the former there is no discernible kinship, but there is the tie of propinquity, of common cultivation, and perhaps of common ownership; in the tribal community, government is generally by a king or chief: in the village by a council. Now if anything in this region of research is clear, it is that the Greek γένη and φρατρίαι are similar to the tribes and clans of the Celts, and not to the villages of the Russians and English; the distinction is recognized in all works on the subject, and nothing but irretrievable confusion can result from ignoring it. How far the confusion may lead is shown by Mr. Fowler himself. Having committed himself to the statement that the γένη were the remnants of old village communities he is compelled to obscure the real importance of the reforms of Cleisthenes, which lay of course in the substitution of local organization for the older organization which depended entirely on descent, and he misses the explanations of many of the chief characteristics of the Greek πόλις which came from the fact that in it survives the old union of the tribe or tribes. In Athens it is clear we have two quite separate organizations: that of the γένη, φρατρίαι and φυλαί, which are purely genealogical, and that of the δήμοι, κώμαι, πόλεις, which are local; the relation of the two is obscure, but it is of the greatest importance to avoid speaking of the two as though they were identical—as he does.

In the latter part of the book some improvement might be made in the arrangement. It would have been better to have completed the account of the independent life of the Greek cities before passing on to Rome; it is confusing to find a discussion on Demosthenes and the fall of Athens, and even on the Confederacy of Delos following an account of the Roman constitution of the second century. The short sketch of the way in which the Empire absorbed the

old city communities will be very useful, though perhaps it might have been with advantage slightly expanded.

These defects do not materially detract from the value of a book which will have a most stimulating effect on the teaching of ancient history, and which ought to become familiar to every schoolboy and undergraduate.

J. W. HEADLAM.

FISCHER ON THE *PERIPLUS* OF HANNO.

De Hannonis Carthaginienensis periplo, scripsit CURTIUS THEODORUS FISCHER. Leipzig: Teubner. 1893. Pp. iv. 134. 8vo. 3 Mk.

THE author makes a great display of his reading, and quotes books by the dozen on the slightest provocation; the result being that his work is more of a treatise on the literature of his subject than a treatise on the subject itself. In fact, he hardly says

more of Hanno and the *Periplus* than Bunbury says in one short chapter: *Hist. of Anc. Geogr.* vol. i. pp. 318—335.

His opinion is that Hanno made the voyage a little before 450 B.C., and got as far south as Cape Palmas—Νότον κέρας. He identifies Ἐσπέρου κέρας with Cape Verde; and puts Θεῶν ὄχγμα near Cape Mesurado, and Κέρη between Capes Juby and Bojador. C. T.

RAMSAY'S *THE CHURCH AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE*.

The Church and the Roman Empire before A.D. 170, by W. M. RAMSAY, M.A., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen. Hodder & Stoughton, 1893. 12s.

PROFESSOR RAMSAY'S work may be read as a many-sided protest against the separation of classical from later literature, of geography from history, and of secular from ecclesiastical history by scholars of the last generation. Thus he sees in St. Paul 'the first true successor of Aristotle,' tells us that Hadrian's work was only taken up by Constantine, and recognizes that the mission of the Empire was to level the barriers of ancient prejudice kept up by men like Tacitus and Juvenal, and to prepare the world for the universalism which it was not strong enough to carry out without the help of Christianity. His thesis is that of Prudentius—that the Christian Church was the natural crown of Roman history.

The book is best described as a series of chapters on the early history of Christianity, chiefly in Asia Minor. It makes no claim

to be a continuous history, and indeed is rather a conglomerate. The writer begins with St. Paul's journeys in Asia, minutely discussing their geography, and maintaining in opposition to Bishop Lightfoot that the Epistle to the Galatians was not written to the Gauls of northern Galatia, but to the churches of Antioch, Iconium and Lystra in the southern part of the province of Galatia. He holds that the narrative of the Acts is founded on or even incorporates an account written under the immediate influence of St. Paul himself, and that the variations of Codex D sometimes preserve the local traditions of Asia, whereas they are mere guesswork as regards Europe. This last fact may be a solid contribution to the obscure and complicated problem of the origin of the Western text.

The general subject of the second part is the relations of the Empire and the Church. The rescript of Trajan is taken as a starting-point, but by no means as the inauguration of a new policy. It was already a settled thing that Christianity was as much a crime as brigandage, and that punishment directly

followed the mere avowal of the name. In Nero's time, on the contrary, there were other charges of arson and the like, and the mere name of Christian was not taken as proof of them; nor do we find that apostates had to make good their denials by adoring the images of the gods and the emperor. Who then made this change of procedure? As Nero was otherwise occupied at the end of his reign, it must have been the work of Vespasian, or at any rate of 'our lord and god' Domitian. As the First Epistle of Peter marks the transition, it must be dated perhaps 75-80. It may however be nevertheless genuine; for while the apostle's death at Rome seems certain, its connexion with Nero is no more than a guess, so that there is nothing to prevent us from putting it later.

Thus by the end of the first century there was war to the death between the Empire and the Church. On one side the mere avowal of Christianity was a capital offence; on the other, the Church replied with the haughty defiance of the Apocalypse and the letters of Ignatius, or the still more haughty silence of St. John's Epistle. But the tension was too great to last. Trajan mitigated the persecution by forbidding search and discouraging informers; and the extravagance of Ignatius shows the strength of a party in the Church which would have been glad to make some sort of truce with the Empire. The author finds traces of such a party even in Trajan's time, when the Christians of Bithynia gave up their social and therefore unlawful evening meeting. But surely Pliny's *quod ipsum facere desisse* is the statement of the renegades, and need not refer to any one but themselves. However, there was a sort of truce in the next reign. Hadrian's rescript—it is too cynical to be spurious—went a step beyond Trajan's.

Without touching the law that Christianity was of itself a crime, it shielded the Christians from mob violence by requiring a definite accuser, and placed the accuser at the governor's mercy by compelling him to prove—something carefully left vague. But the imperial ideals made no advance for a long time after Hadrian. Marcus Aurelius was too much of a philosopher to see that the true policy of the Empire was toleration. Yet even he issued no new edicts, hardly even any new instructions to officials; only the old instructions were worked in a hostile temper under a hostile emperor.

The last portion of the volume is a somewhat amorphous collection of papers, valuable enough in themselves, but scarcely conducive to the unity of the work. Here again we see the writer's strength as a geographer, whom local touches enable to trace back into the first century the basis of the legend of Paul and Thecla, or to rescue the story of Glycerius the deacon from the distortions of Basil of Caesarea. But the entire book is full of interesting discussions, like that on Demetrius the Neopoiios of Ephesus, or the theory that the primitive bishop was simply the presbyter in charge of the correspondence of the Church.

Professor Ramsay has given us more than we are quite yet in a position to criticize. His positions are always plausible, and generally seem sound; but the very freshness and vigour which carries us along with him also compels us to reserve our final judgment. Yet whatever correction his results may need when they can be retraced at leisure, there can be no doubt that his work is in the highest degree stimulating and suggestive, and in its own line the finest monument of English scholarship since Lightfoot passed away.

H. M. G.

Lambèse. Par R. CAGNAT, Professeur au Collège de France. Paris: Ernest Leroux. 2 francs.

THIS interesting little *brochure* is designed for the use of tourists and archaeologists in Algiers, and is full of interesting information, briefly and brightly put, from cover to cover. The following is a summary of its contents: (1) a short history of Northern Africa, (2) the elements of African archaeology, (3) a few practical directions for the tourist, (4) a history of Lambæsis, (5) descriptions of the camp and the city, followed by an account of the principal objects of interest in the two museums, a bibliography, and a plan of the ruins. The illustrations are numerous, and well executed, the paper and type are good, in fact a more excellent handbook

could not be desired. It is to be hoped that the publishers will see their way to produce some more works of the same kind.

E. G. NORRIS.

An Elementary Grammar. By HENRY JOHN ROBY, M.A., LL.D. and A. S. WILKINS, Litt. D., LL.D. London: 1893. Macmillan & Co. Pp. 176. 2s. 6d.

THIS is intended as an introduction to Mr. Roby's *Latin Grammar for Schools*, of which it is practically an adaptation. The paper and print are all that can be desired, and the subject-matter is equally well suited to beginners—being clear, short and judiciously chosen. The sections on phonetic changes p. 5, on inflexions pp. 6, 51, on 'reported speech' p. 142 are

good instances of the conciseness of the book. The elements of Philology are kept in view, but on the whole not too prominently. Grammatical terms and technicalities are delightfully conspicuous by their absence; even the very name of 'ablative absolute' is wanting. The main purpose, that of teaching nothing which can be retained only by rote, and nothing which will have to be unlearned, has been pretty successfully carried out: though it may be doubted whether boys will not have to unlearn many

now-accepted case usages, e.g. the accusative of 'space over which' (*nix quattuor pedes alta* p. 113) in the face of *sexcentos passus aberat* or *sex annos abhinc factum est*.

Some subjects, e.g. conjunctions and pronouns, might perhaps have been treated more fully; but on the whole the Syntax as well as the Accidence will be found very useful to beginners.

J. E. N.

NOTES ON LIDDELL AND SCOTT'S LEXICON.

THE following additions may be made to the list of Addenda and Corrigenda contributed by Dr. Leeper to the February Number of the *Classical Review*.

ἄγαλμα.—In Soph. *Ant.* 704 the genitive *εὐκλείας* depends on *μείζον*, not on *ἄγαλμα*. See Jebb l.c.

Ἀθῆναι.—To the example given from Herodotus of Ἀθῆναι=Ἀττική, of the whole country, add Ar. *Nub.* 401 *Σούνιον ἄκρον Ἀθηνῶν* and compare *Od.* 3, 278.

Ἄλας.—The Lexicon wrongly says 'voc. Ἄλαν (postulante metro) Soph. *Aj.* 482.' The metre in that passage requires *Ἄλας* and there seems to be no authority for any other reading.

αἰκινός.—*αἰκινῶ μαντεῖα Eur. Ion* 739 is wrongly explained as metaphorical, 'difficult.' The context shows the meaning to be 'steep is the seat of the oracle.'

ἄρω.—The form *ἄρας* (ᾱ) is found in Euripides (e.g. *El.* 2) as well as in Aeschylus and Sophocles. Therefore add 'Eur.' after 'Aesch., Soph.' in line 5.

ἀκίλευστος.—For Soph. *Aj.* 1263 read Soph. *Aj.* 1284.

ἄκρατος.—For *ἄκραντ' ἐκάμονεν Eur. Bacch.* 435 read *ἄκραντ' ὀρήσασμεν*.

ἀλήτης.—To the example of the adjectival use add Eur. *El.* 136 *πὸς δ' ἀλάταν*.

ἀνακολουθία.—Insert the words 'to another' after 'changes.'

ἀναπτέρω.—For Aesch. *Cho.* 292 read Aesch. *Cho.* 229.

ἀνώ.—In the first line for *II.* 3 read *III.* 2.

ἀξίωμα.—In *I.* 3 for Thuc. 2, 27 read Thuc. 2, 37.

ἀπαιδία.—Add Eur. *Hel.* 1056, where Hermann restores *ἀπαιδία* for *παλαιότης*.

ἀπωθέω.—In Thuc. 2, 39 *ἀπεῖσθαι* is surely middle, not passive.

ἀριθμός.—In *I.* 5, where Eur. *El.* 1054 is quoted, read *ἦκει* for *ἦκεις* and 'she comes' for 'you come.'

ἄστρωτος.—In Eur. *H. F.* 52 *ἄστρωτον πέδον* means the 'bare' rather than the 'unsmoothed, rugged' ground.

Ἀχιλλεύς.—In the first line for dissyll. read trisyll.

βάσις.—In the fifth line for 'point' of the boat read 'print.'

γέννημα.—In Soph. *Ant.* 471 the Lexicon translates *γέννημα* 'breeding, nature.' Probably however the word there bears its ordinary meaning 'that which is begotten,' 'a child.' τὸ γέννημα τῆς παιδός=ἡ γεννηθεῖσα παῖς. See Jebb l.c.

δαῖος.—After *ἀδύφρα δάων Aesch. Theb.* 271 add 'si vera lectio,' or strike out the reference. The true reading is probably *στέφω πρὸ νῶν*.

δεμῶς.—In the second line for 31 read 37.

δέψω.—In the first line after 'aor.' add *εἰδήσῃσα*.

διαφίημι.—Reference is made to the article *διαφρέω*, but under the latter word there is nothing to show why the reference is given. Probably the writer intended to quote under *διαφρέω* the variant *διαφίσανσι* for *διαφρήσουσι* in Thuc. 7, 32. The Lexicon erroneously reads *διαφρήσετε* for *διαφρήσουσι* in the article *διαφρέω*.

διорύσσειν.—Dem. 118, 11 *διωρύνεσθαι* is erroneously explained 'undermined, ruined.' It should be 'we are entrenched in our separate cities.'

δόλος.—Soph. *El.* 279 is quoted as giving the phrase *σὺν δόλῳ*. There seems to be no authority for the reading. The words are *ἐκ δόλου*, as correctly quoted in the preceding line of the same article.

δρόχοι.—In the second line from the end of the article *δρόμα* should be *δρυμά*.

δυσθανάτω.—In Hdt. 9, 72 the verb means 'to be reluctant to die' rather than 'to die a lingering death.'

δωρίς.—In last line read *ἀναπαύσας* for *ἀναπαύας*.

εἰσοιχνεύω.—In the first line for *εἰσοιχνεύουσιν* read *εἰσοιχνεύσαν*.

ἐκατόν.—For *ἐκατον* read *ἐκατόν*.

ἐκβάλλω.—The sense 'to lose' in section V. should be omitted. For the interpretation of the several passages quoted see Professor Jebb's note on Soph. *Aj.* 865.

ἐλλείπω.—In *I.* 7 for *εὐχαρίστων* read *εὐχαρίστων*.

In *III.* *ἐλλείπεσθαι* in Soph. *El.* 736 means 'to be left in the race,' not 'to be left behind in the race.'

ἐλπίς.—Add to *II.* the reference Eur. *Or.* 859.

ἐμβολή.—The distinction drawn between *ἐμβολή*, as the charge on the side of a hostile ship, and *προσβολή*, as the charge prow to prow, can hardly be correct. In Thuc. 7, 36 two methods of *ἐμβολή* are distinguished, viz. *ἀντιπρόροις* (*χρησθαι ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς*) the charge prow to prow, and *ἐκ περίπλου* when the attacking ship made a circuit of the other and tried to ram it on the side or stern. In Thuc. 7, 70 the difference between *ἐμβολή* and *προσβολή* seems to be that the former was a deliberate attack, the latter a chance collision. In the battle Thucydides is describing (the battle in the harbour at Syracuse) he says *ἐμβολαί* were few because there was not sufficient sea-room for the necessary manoeuvres (*ἀνὰ κρουσίς* and *διέκπλους*), but *προσβολαί* were frequent because the ships crowded in a narrow space readily fouled when they tried either to attack or to flee. 'Εμβολή (in these passages) is a technical nautical term, *προσβολή* is a general term equally applicable to land operations.

ἐνορκος.—In Thuc. 2, 72 this word means 'included in the treaty,' not 'bound by oath.'

ἐπαγγέλλω.—To the use of the middle given in section 6 add the translation 'to ask a favour,' and the additional reference Dem. 354, 41 (46).

ἔπειμι (*εἰμι* *sum*).—In section II. *delete* τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας Hdt. 3, 85. The quotation is given in its proper place under *ἔπειμι* (*εἰμι* *ibo*).

ἐπιφοιτῶ.—In Hdt. 9, 28 *οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντες*, which is contrasted with *οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες*, should be translated 'those who came up later,' 'the subsequent arrivals,' *not* 'the visitors.' The same correction probably holds good for the other passage quoted, viz. Hdt. 1, 97.

ἑπτάμυχος.—Add *ἑπτάμυχος*, title of a work by Pherecydes of Syros, *v. Suidas s.v.*

ἡδύς.—In section III. the translation given of *ἡδύς ἔχειν τι* is appropriate only to the first passage quoted from the *Ion*. In the second passage the phrase is *ἡδύς ἔχειν τινα* and the meaning 'to please,' *not* 'to be pleased or content with.'

ἡχώ.—In Hdt. 9, 24 *ἡχώ* means 'the noise of the mourning,' *not* 'the news of Masistius' death.'

θεῖνω.—On Eur. *Rhes*. 676, where the MSS. vary, the Lexicon inconsistently reads *θεῖνε* at the beginning of the article, *θεῖνε* at the end.

θεοκρασία.—Add *θεοκρασία*, title of a work by Pherecydes of Syros.

θησεῖν.—*θησεῖν* should be *θησεῖν*.

θούναυ.—In *Ion* 1206, 1217 this word means 'feaster,' 'guest,' *not* 'one who gives a feast.'

θύρσος.—To section 2. a. add Dem. 402, 195 (216).

θυμέλη.—In line 3 for *χρυσήλατο* read *χρυσήλατοι*.

θυμοβόρος.—For Aesch. Ag. 103 *v. sub.* *θυμοφθόρος*, but under *θυμοφθόρος* there is nothing about the passage.

κέντημα.—In line 2 for 165 read 155.

κούριμος.—In Eur. *Or.* 966 *κούριμος* should probably be taken *not* with *σίδαρον* but proleptically with *κῆρα*, and in passive *not* active sense. There seems to be no certain instance of *κούριμος* in active sense, and the proposed way of taking the word in the present passage is supported by *Pro.* 279 and *El.* 148.

κρυπτεύω.—In Eur. *Bacch.* 888 this verb is intransitive, *not* transitive.

κρυπτός.—In Ar. *Thesm.* 600, *σκοπεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ζητεῖν ὅπου λέληθεν ἡμῶς κρυπτός ἐγκαθήμενος*, *κρυπτός* is *not* 'a Subst. a *spy*,' but is used in a quite familiar adjectival construction as in Eur. *El.* 525 *κρυπτὸν μολεῖν*.

κρύπτω.—The verb is *not* intransitive either in Soph. *El.* 826 or Eur. *Phoen.* 117. See Professor Jebb's note on the former passage.

λείπω.—In the first line of B for *φυλακῇ* read *φυλάκη*.

λόγος.—In A, line 13, for 'there' read 'these.'

μεσηγύ.—In *Od.* 7, 195 it is unnecessary to refer *μεσηγύς* to time. The ordinary local sense is quite suitable, 'in mid passage.'

μηθεῖς.—For *μητεμία* read *μηθεμία*.

μινύρομαι.—Add [ν].

νέος.—In line 14, after *O. C.* 1229, add Eur. *Ion* 545.

ὀβρίκαλα.—The Lexicon says '*ὀβρίκαλα*=foreg.' But the foregoing word is *ὀβρίδρεως*, which has nothing to do with *ὀβρίκαλα*. The reference is to the article '*ὄβρια*, the young of animals,' which immediately preceded in the earlier editions. When that article was struck out and a part of it incorporated under *ὀβρίκαλα* the word 'foreg.' was allowed to remain by an oversight. As the Lexicon now

stands the meaning of neither *ὄβρια* nor *ὀβρίκαλα* is given.

οἰκίδιον.—The antepenult is long (see Ar. *Nub.* 92) and the word is therefore a diminutive of *οἰκία*, *not* of *οἶκος*.

ὄλεθρος.—Add the meaning 'seduction' Eur. *I. A.* 1382 *τὸν Ἑλένης τείσαντες ὄλεθρον*. Cf. the use of *ἀπάλετο* in Eur. *El.* 1065.

ὄνειρος.—In line 5 for 'metaph.' read 'metaplast.'

πίεζω.—Add the meaning 'outweigh' (in metaphorical sense), 'counterbalance,' 'compensate,' Eur. *Hipp.* 637.

πίπτω.—Add reference to Eur. *El.* 639 *πρὸς τὸ πίπτειν*, 'as matters fall out,' 'according to circumstances.'

ποίη.—In line 5 for 'in collective sense' read 'used of an individual.'

πολυετής.—In both the passages quoted the meaning is 'after many years,' *not* 'of many years, full of years.'

πονηρός.—Add the meaning 'mean' (in the political sense), 'base in rank,' Eur. *Suppl.* 423.

ποτάμαι.—In section 3 the passage quoted as from Eur. *Hipp.* 564 occurs not there but in Eur. *El.* 175. The verb however, though with a different context from that given in the Lexicon, occurs also in *Hipp.* 1. c. *πρω*.—For 'Early' read 'Early.'

πτοῶ.—In the passage quoted from Eur. *El.* 1255 the dative probably goes with *ψάειν*, *not* with *ἐπτομένως*.

ρύπος.—In line 2 for 'heterocl.' read 'heterog.' or 'metaplast.'

ῥωπογράφος.—Add 'a genre painter.'

σθένος.—II. 1, 'A force of men': this is *not* the meaning in either of the passages quoted.

σκυρόμαι.—Add reference to Pind. *P.* 5, 94 *σκυρωτὰν ὀδόν*.

σοφιστής.—To II. 2 add Dem. 417, 246.

σπλάγχνον.—In line 12 for *ἐντερον* read *ἐντερα*.

σταθμάω.—Add quantity of first syllable (*ᾱ*) in this word and *σταθμός*.

συμπιέζω.—In the quotation from Dio C. 36, 32 *συνεπιέζοτο τὰ μέτα, for μέτα read μέσα*.

συνηρετῶ.—In line 2 for *ἐννερμεῖν* read *ἐννερμεῖν*.

τήμος.—The Lexicon says 'always of past time.' But see *Od.* 7, 318.

τρέφω.—In line 20 for *ἄλκη* read *ἄλμη*.

τριταῖος.—II. 1. 'Lasting three days.' Of the two examples quoted that from Plato certainly and that from Euripides most probably bears the ordinary meaning 'on the third day.'

τροφός.—The passage Soph. *O. C.* 760 should be quoted under section 2, *not* section 1.

τρώπανον.—For [ν] read [ν].

φυσίδα.—For Soph. *El.* 1238 read Soph. *Ant.* 1238.

φυταλία.—Read *φυταλιά*.

χείρ.—In IV. line 2 for *χείρων* read *χειρῶν*. In V. *χείρ ὑπερμήκης*, Hdt. 8, 140, is wrongly explained of a band of men. The true explanation is given under *ὑπερμήκης*.

χοροποῖς.—In line 2 for *χοροποῖ* read *χοροποῖ*.

χρήμα.—In II. line 4 for *χρήμα* read *χρήμα*.

ψῆφος.—To II. 5 add Eur. *El.* 1263.

In *Hermathena* and the *Academy* I have already called attention to a considerable number of other inaccuracies in the Lexicon.

CHARLES H. KEENE.

CORRESPONDENCE

SIR.—It is always a desperate course to enter into a conflict with a reviewer. But I think I have been somewhat misrepresented in your review of my little book on 2 Corinthians.

First of all, the reviewer does not seem to be aware that the book, in common with all the others of the series which have appeared, is an adaptation of a former commentary on the English text. The passage in the Introduction in which I 'ingenuously confess' that I had 'not consulted the Bishop of Durham's note'—not 'Bishop Lightfoot's,' as the words are quoted by your reviewer—was originally published in 1879. But even so far back as this the note had only been *written*, not *published*, without consulting the Bishop's note, which, though it travelled over much the same ground and added one remarkable historical parallel, did not shake me in the conclusion to which I had come.

Next, I find myself charged with 'the habit of throwing into the lighter scale, under the name of "the great weight of patristic authority" or the like, a great unsifted mass of unspecified early fathers.'

'Among many examples' of this method are cited ii. 3 (the reviewer means iii. 3), ii. 16, and vi. 16. In only one of these three cases, vi. 16, have I done what I am accused of doing. In ii. 16 I have cited my authorities by name. In iii. 3 I have done the same, adding however that the authorities in favour of the received text are 'the earliest authorities.' In no instance whatever, save on vi. 15 and 16, have I referred to the 'great weight of patristic authority' either in those exact words or in any equivalent to them.

It should in fairness be remembered that the authors of the various portions of the 'Cambridge Bible for Schools' are not free to do as they please, but are expected to conform to general rules. They are not, for instance, at liberty to construct a text for themselves. And while they are at liberty to express their dissent from the text the rules compel them to adopt, they are, rightly or wrongly, not expected to enter much into textual criticism, nor as a matter of fact do any of them do so, beyond the simple mention of the authorities in case of a

divergence from the received text. There are no doubt some exceptions to this statement, but they only occur in cases where the determination of the text is a matter of great difficulty or importance.

I should not have ventured to join issue with your reviewer on a question of opinion. But these are questions, not of opinion, but of fact.

J. J. LIAS.

THE RECTORY, EAST BERGHOLT. May 24.

I may perhaps be allowed to add that your reviewer seems to imply that I hold a brief for the *Textus Receptus*. But this is very far from being the case. Only in one or two instances have I thought it preferable to the reading in the text, and have therefore ventured to say so. In the vast majority of instances I have accepted without hesitation the text imposed on me by authority. But where this was the case it was not necessary for me to say anything.

[WHILE fully adhering to the substance of the notice in question, I much regret that I unintentionally overstated the frequency of what I regard as an unfortunate treatment of patristic evidence. I cited three cases: I now realise that the total number is four. This certainly hardly justifies the words 'habit' and 'many,' both of which, together with the word 'unspecified,' I accordingly withdraw. I offer my frank apology for the inadvertence, and assure Mr. Lias that, in my attempt to state honest impressions, I was actuated by no disrespectful or unkindly feeling. With the above-named exceptions, I can see nothing to recall. I am well aware of the relation of the 'Cambridge Greek Testament' to the 'Cambridge Bible for Schools,' and had no thought of criticising, directly or indirectly, anything in the plan, or textual principles, adopted by the general editors of those excellent series. If my notice gave any different impression, or the impression of a *parti pris* of any kind, I must acquiesce in the penalty which, as Horace warns us, besets the effort to be brief.

A. R.]

ARCHAEOLOGY.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Berlin. Vol. xix. Part 1, 1893.

M. Bahrfeldt, 'Untersuchungen über die Chronologie der Münzen der Domitii Ahenobarbi aus der Zeit der römischen Republik.'—M. Bahrfeldt, 'Ueberprägte Münzen aus der Zeit der römischen Republik.' On Roman Republican coins struck on the *flans* of Romano-Campanian, Ptolemaic, Sicilian and other coins.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 1, 1893.

Warwick Wroth. 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1892' (with one plate).—F. B. Baker. 'Some rare or unpublished Greek coins.' Coins procured by Mr. Loring in his travels in Arcadia during the last three years. *Parium in*

Mysia. Bronze, *obv.* Head of Commodus, *rev.* Eros. The Eros of Praxiteles has been recognized on coins of this type (cf. P. Gardner in *J.H.S.* 1883). This specimen has now been kindly presented by Mr. Loring to the British Museum, which previously had no example of the Eros-type at Parium. The Arcadian provenance of the coin is curious. *Megalopolis*. Bronze coins of Sept. Severus commemorating the Lycaean games. *Delphi*. Bronze of Faustina I. *rev.* Temple with statue of Apollo.—B. V. Head. 'Recent numismatic publications.'

Revue numismatique. Part 1, 1893.

Th. Reinach. 'De la valeur proportionnelle de l'or et de l'argent dans l'antiquité grecque' (to be continued).—R. Mowat. 'Symboles monétaires

ptolemaïques mis en rapport avec les fêtes dionysiaques d'Alexandrie.—J. A. Blanchet. 'Monnaies romaines et byzantines inédites.'—D. E. Tacchella. 'Description de monnaies grecques de l'époque impériale trouvées en Bulgarie.'—Review of Markoff's 'Monnaies Arsacides,' by E. Douin. W. W.

Archäologisches Jahrbuch, 1893. Part i.

1. Strzygowski; the golden door of Constantinople (the 'porta aurea,' modern *Jedi kule*) which in Byzantine times was the principal gate of the city, has only recently, in connection with the new railway extension works, been accessible; publishes, with R. Koldewey, a detailed study of it: (i) the triumphal arch; (ii) the Pylons; (iii) the Propylæon: with seventeen cuts. 2. Kekule; discusses Pliny's opening statement about Lysippos, and the various views of Meyer, Otfried Müller, and Brunn; his own explanation of the passage, founded on a comparison of the Apoxyomenos and Doryphoros, he no longer adheres to, but agrees with O. Müller, referring it specially to the portrait work of Lysippos. 3. Rossbach; four Pompeian wall-paintings: (i) a picture of Polyphemos and Galatea, which occurs also on a cameo, probably from a famous original; (ii) the unexplained mythological scene found in 1874 in the Casa del Orfeo is a scene of Jason and Medea in Kolchis; (iii) the scene from the Casa di Diadumeno (Helbig pl. xi.) is Phaethon and Aphrodite; (iv) Helbig 1479: the priest and priestess preparing for the sacred procession of the wedding of Hercules and Venus Pompeiana.

Anzeiger. Richter; note on the recent discoveries at the Pantheon, showing that four periods are traceable in its construction, viz. (i) Agrippa in B.C. 27, who erected the circular building of the same dimensions as the present; burnt in 80 and 110 A.D.; (ii) Hadrian about A.D. 125 completed the new Pantheon, a domed structure of bricks, raising the floor two metres; (iii) some time between Hadrian and Severus the hall of entrance still standing was built, and the inscription of Agrippa set under its pediment; (iv) in 202 A.D. Septimius Severus subjected Hadrian's building to a thorough restoration. Bethé; notes from Spanish Museums (Madrid, Seville). Furtwängler; publishes a Mycenaean oinochoe with paintings of nautilus.

Meetings of the Arch. Gesellsch. Rochefort's letter about the Venus of Milo. News, bibliography, &c.

Revue Archéologique. January—February, 1893. Paris.

1. Blanchet; publishes (pl. i. and ii.) a bronze lid of a box decorated with a Medusa head in relief, and a terracotta statuette of Venus with three Erotes, found at Saint Honoré les Bains, the Aquis Alisencii of the Peutinger tables. 2. Joubin; publishes (pl. iii. iv.) the upper part of an archaic statue in tufa, from Eleutherna in Crete; it confirms the existence of a 'Daedalian' school in that island, and shows how Cretan art had influenced the art of Peloponnesos, though itself free from all external influence. 3. Carton; publishes the results of his further inquiries into the inscription (*ante* 1892, p. 214) with the commentary on the Lex Hadriana by the procurator Patroclus. 4. Cumont; concludes his catalogue of figured monuments relative to the cult of Mithras. 5. S. Reinach; gives his 26th *Chronique d'Orient*, pp. 54-122. Notes, news, &c. Review of Cagnat's *L'Armée romaine d'Afrique* (Goyau).

The same. March—April, 1893.

1. Deloche; continues his signet rings and stamps of the Merovingian period. 2. Perdrizet; republishes a b. f. lekythos (Dubois-Mais, pl. lxxvii.) with preparations for a cock fight; and discusses the question of the introduction of this bird into Greece: plate and cut. 3. De Sèze; discusses the so-called 'Fates' of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon; from the character of the folds and transparency of the drapery, concludes that the statues represent the sea in movement; they are in fact three waves, to which he proposes to assign the names of Dynamene, Cynodoce, and Melite. 4. Male; discusses the legend of the death of Cain, which he identifies with the subject of a 15th century capital of Tarbes. 5. S. Reinach; commences a study and classification of monuments of unheaven stone, in language and popular belief. 6. Nicole; publishes a papyrus of his own collection, being a letter written by the governor of Alexandria under Antoninus Pius to the strategi of the Arsinoite nome in reference to a certain Titanianus.

Bulletin of the Acad. des Inserr. and of the Société Nationale des Antiquaires. Bibliography. Cagnat's *Revue des Publ. Épigr.*

C. S.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1892.

DURING 1892 the Museum has acquired 457 coins of the Greek class, 10 of which are gold and electrum, 99 silver and 348 bronze. A description of noteworthy specimens is given by Mr. Warwick Wroth in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1893, part 1, pp. 1-20, illustrated by one autotype plate. Attention may here be called to the following:—*Demetrius Poliorcetes*. An excellent example of the rare gold staters of Demetrius bearing his portrait. *Athens*. A gold quarter stater probably issued in B.C. 407 when the Athenians melted down into coin the gold images of Nike in the Parthenon. *Sinope*. A rare drachm bearing the name of a satrap hitherto read 'Abdemon,' 'Abdammu,' 'Abrocomas,' &c., but now deciphered by Mr. Head as 'Abdsasan.' *Lampsacus*. A fine gold stater bearing the head of the youthful Aktaeon.—*Pergamus*. A cistophorus marked with the letter Q, struck at the Pergamene mint in B.C. 50-49 when the Province of Asia was governed by a Quaestor (L. Antonius) instead of a Proconsul. *Rhodes*. An Alexandrine tetradrachm struck at Rhodes but counter-marked with a labyrinth for circulation at Cnossus in Crete.—*Pharnabazus*. A fine silver stater of this satrap bearing a remarkable portrait of him. *Lycia*. Unpublished silver coins bearing the names of 'Spintaza' and 'Teththiveibis.' Mr. Wroth points out that the early style of the coins is inconsistent with the date proposed by Dr. J. P. Six for coins of this class.—*Lystra in Lycania*. Two rare bronze colonial coins of this place (cp. Acts, chap. xiv.), hitherto unrepresented in the British Museum collection. One of these bears the head of Augustus and was procured by Prof. W. M. Ramsay and Mr. Hogarth in Southern Asia Minor, together with other Greek-Imperial coins also acquired for the Museum. The second specimen is of Faustina jun. and has the Tyche of Lystra and a river-god on the reverse.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Journal of Philology. Vol. xxi., No. 43.

A. E. Housman, MSS. of Propertius, pp. 162—197; W. M. Lindsay, shortening of long syllables in Plautus, pp. 198—210; H. Nettleship, Printed Editions of Nonius, followed by some unpublished notes of Scaliger and of his own, pp. 211—234; H. Nettleship, Notes on Latin Lexicography [p. 237, l. 10 from bottom, *s.v.* *honoratus*, should we not read 'transition from passive to active,' instead of 'tr. fr. active to passive' ?], pp. 235—239; J. P. Postgate, Emendations of Catullus lxiii. 54 'et earum ut omne adirem furibunda latibulum,' lxiv. 402 'liber ut innuptae poteretur flore nuriclae'; C. Taylor, Two Ways in Hermas and Xenophon, pp. 243—258; J. E. B. Mayor, Tertullian's Apology (gives a sketch of the recent literature followed by notes chiefly supplementary to earlier commentaries), pp. 259—295; F. G. Kenyon, A transcript of the British Museum Papyrus CXXVIII. containing portions of the last two books of the *Iliad*, and dating probably from the first century B.C., pp. 296—343.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xiv.

1. Whole No. 53. April 1893.

Vedic reduplication of nouns and adjectives, by E. W. Hopkins. *On the Judæo-German spoken by the Russian Jews*, by L. Wiener. *The relative position of actors and chorus in the Greek theatre of the fifth century B.C.*, I. by J. Pickard. Vitruvius had the Roman theatre before him in his description. We find a *λογεῖον* for the actors first mentioned after the chorus has practically disappeared from the drama. In the fifth century both actors and chorus were on the *ὀρχήστρα*. Prof. Gildersleeve reviews Joost's book, *Was ergibt sich aus dem Sprachgebrauch Xenophons, in der Anabasis für die Behandlung der griechischen Syntax in der Schule?* Berlin 1892. The statistics give many welcome illustrations to the student of Greek syntax and Greek style, but the framework on which the facts are strung is rickety and defective. F. G. Allinson reviews *Einleitung in die Neugriechische Grammatik*, by G. N. Hatzidakis. It may claim the merit of placing the study of modern Greek in its proper relative position. We may see in it a regular continuation of the later *κοινὴ*. Briefly mentioned are R. Wagner's paper on the imperative infin. in the *Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm des Fridericianum zu Schwerin* i. M., 1890—91, Prof. Crusius' *Untersuchungen zu den Mimien der Herondas*, and E. Abbott's *Herodotus* v. vi.

Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. Oct.—Dec. 1891.

TACITUS' GERMANIA 1886-1890 by U. ZERNIAL.

A. Editions. *Cornelii Taciti de Germania liber*, R. Novák. Prag 1889. Full of unnecessary and arbitrary changes of text. *Cornelii Taciti de origine, situ, moribus ac populis Germanorum liber*, Joannes Müller. 3rd ed. Wien and Prag 1889. An excellent edition in which respect is shown to the tradition. *Cornelii Taciti Germania*, ed. J. Prammer. Wien 1889. Valuable, especially for the geographical information. *Cornelii Taciti Germania*, K. Tücking. 7th ed. Paderborn 1889. Loses sight of the historical position of Tacitus. *Cornelii Taciti de origine, situ, moribus ac populis Germanorum liber*, G. Egelhaaf. Gotha 1886. The historical remarks are

better than the philological. Not to be recommended for schools. *Cornelii Taciti Germania*, J. Prammer. 2nd ed. Part i. Text and preface. Part ii. Introduction, Commentary, and Index. Wien 1889. *Taciti Germania*, U. Zernial, with a map by H. Kiepert. Berlin 1890. Founded on the text of Halm's 4th ed. 1883.

B. Treatises. M. Zimmermann, *De Tacito Senecae philosophi imitatore*. Breslau 1889. In two parts (1) how Seneca's philosophy is expressed by Tacitus, (2) how Tacitus has utilized it for the purposes of history. G. Schönfeld. *De Taciti studiis Sallustianis*. Diss. Leipzig 1884. F. Walter, *Studien zu Tacitus und Curtius*. Progr. München 1887. A collection of passages in which it is probable that Tacitus has imitated Curtius. H. Schmaus, *Tacitus ein Nachahmer Vergils*. Erlanger Diss. 1887. T. imitated V. because (1) the Romans approved such imitation, (2) poetical ornament is desirable for history, (3) T. followed contemporaries in getting his supply of poetical ornament from Virgil. J. Gericke, *De abundantia dicendi genere Tacitino*. Diss. Berlin 1882. In three parts, (1) general and special notions connected by *et*, (2) juxtaposition of synonyms, (3) where a word is superfluous as in *comptius ornantur*. L. Schumacher, *De Tacito Germaniae geographo*. Progr. Berlin 1886. The writer considers (1) what limits T. assigns to Germany, (2) how far, according to T., the Germans dwelt beyond these limits also. K. Hachtmann, *Zu Tacitus' Germania*, Jahr. f. Klass. Phil. 1891. On the last words of the second ch. *ceterum...vocarentur*. Gerber und Greef, *Lexicon Taciteum*. The ninth fascic. down to the word *orien*. E. Wolff, *Schulwörterbuch zur Germania des Tacitus*. Prag 1886. Can be recommended in spite of imperfections. K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*. Vol. ii. with four maps by H. Kiepert. Berlin 1887. Treats of a number of chapters of the *Germania* so far as they bear on the dwelling-places of the oldest Germans and their history, also on the sources of Tacitus' representation and its value.

VIRGIL by P. DEUTICKE.

I. History and Tradition. Otto Ribbeck, *Geschichte der Römischen Dichtung*, 2nd book: *Augusteisches Zeitalter*. Stuttgart 1889. The first ch. is devoted to V. Valuable for appreciation of the poetical contents of the single works. S. Lederer, *Ist Virgil der Verfasser von 'Culex' und 'Ciris'?* Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hexameters. Leipzig 1890. *Culex* is by V., *Ciris* not. V. gains in rhythmical feeling and technical skill. The number of spondee increases, especially in the first foot. N. Fulvermacher, *De Georgicis a Vergilio retractatis*. Diss. Berlin 1890. Written 36-30 B.C., read to Octavian 29, and published soon after their completion. Some parts inserted later but before publication. No proof of a second edition. M. Rothstein, *Propertius und Virgil*. Hermes 1889. Misses striking coincidences between the Aen. and Prop. Thinks the influence of P. possible though not certain. M. Sonntag, *Ein Epigramm des Servius Sulpicius*. WS f. Klass. Phil. 1890. On the well-known epigram *Iusserat haec rapidis aboleri carmina flammis* etc. R. Sabbadini, *Studi critici sulla Eneide*. Lonigo 1889. This many-sided book deserves warm recognition. M. Hoffmann, *Der codex Medicus pl. xxix. n. 1. des Vergilius*. Progr. Pforta 1889. In Med. we possess a careful recension, but one not free

from faults. The new editor deserves thanks for his painstaking investigation. M. Ihm, *Die Scholien in codex Medicus des Vergilius*. Rhein. Mus. 1890. These scholia may be from the commentary of Aelius Donatus.

II. Editions. *P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica*, F. Hermes, Dessau 1890. Very arbitrary, out of the 829 lines 109 are omitted. *Vergils Gedichte*, Th. Ladewig and C. Schaper. 2nd vol. *Aen.* i.—vi. 11th edition, by P. Deuticke. Berlin 1891. The text is essentially the same, but the notes are altered and condensed and much added. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneis*, by Oskar Brosin, Gotha. Vol. i., Books i. and ii., 3rd edition 1889. Vol. ii., Books iii. and iv., 2nd Edition 1887. Vol. iii., Books v. and vi., 2nd Edition 1888. After the death of the editor, by L. Heitkamp. Vol. v. Books x.—xii. 1890. May be recommended.

III. On criticism and interpretation. Car. Pascal, *Quæstiones Vergilianæ ad eclogam quartam spectantes*. Riv. di fil. 1889. The boy alluded to is a son of Pollio. H. Nettleship, *Arch. f. lat. Lexikogr.* 1889. In *Ecl.* vi. 33 reads his *exordia primis*. A. Körte, *Augusteer bei Philodem*. Rhein. Mus. 1890. The Varus addressed in *Ecl.* vi. and ix. is Alfenus Varus the jurist, while the school comrade of V. under Siron is Quintilius Varus Cremonensis. L. Quicherat, *Les vers hypermètres de Virgile*. Rev. de Phil. 1890. Defends not only the usual cases of hypermeter but also those in *Georg.* ii. 59 and iii. 449. J. C. G. Boot, *Analecta critica*. Mnemos. N.S. 1890. Emends *Ecl.* ii. 71, vii. 23, *Aen.* i. 462. H. Kern, *Vergiliana*. Bl. f. d. bayer. GSW. 1891. On *Ecl.* viii. 11, *Georg.* iv. 129, *Aen.* x. 186, 188, 541. H. C. Michaelis, *Annotationes nonnullæ ad Vergili Aeneidis libros i. et ii.* Mnemos. 1890. O. Krausse, *Bemerkungen zu einigen Stellen der Aeneide*. Progr. Rudolstadt 1890. Mostly exegetical. Worthy of note are the remarks on i. 52 foll., viii. 298 foll., and xii. 858. F. Goebel, N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1890. Defends the transposition *deinde...vina* in *Aen.* i. 195. F. Weck, *Zu Vergilius Aen.* ii. 57 f. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1890. R. Förster, *Ueber die Entstehungszeit des Laocoon und Philologische Parerga zum Laocoon*. Leipzig 1890. Puts the Laocoon-group after 150 B.C. and thinks it possible that V. knew it and imitated it in his description of the father. P. Sandford, on *Aen.* iv. 436. *Class. Rev.* iii. 419, *morte* cannot be compared with *in tempore* of *Liv.* 24, 48, 3. H. Nettleship, on *Aen.* v. 602. *Journ. of Phil.* 1890. Suggests *cursus* or *lusus* for *pueri*. James Henry, *Aeneidea*, Vol. iii., Books v.—ix. Dublin 1889. Many of his results deserve consideration. The aesthetic remarks are inferior to the critical, and those again to the exegetic. E. Brandes, *Zum sechsten und achten Buch der Aeneis*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1890. On the underworld and the shield of Aeneas. H. Ball, N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1889. Explains *advena exercitus* vii. 38 as = Aeneas *πολύτλας*, which can hardly be right. A. W. Verral (*sic*), *Academy* 1890. In *Aen.* ix. 48 *et* = 'and so', in xi. 202 *ardentibus* is explained by *ardentis* of 200. P. Stengel, *Hermes*, 1891. On *Aen.* xii. 214 foll. H. Kothe, *Vergilius und Timaios*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1889. T. puts 500 years between the destruction of Troy and foundation of Carthage, so V. did not follow him in bringing Aeneas and Dido together. G. Eskuche, *Die Elisionen in den zwei letzten Füssen des lateinischen Hexameters, von Ennius bis Valahfridus Strabo*. Rhein. Mus. 1890. V. elides often after the 5th trochee, seldom after the 5th arsis, or the 5th dactyl, only once after the 6th arsis. The hard elisions in *Aen.* x. 508, xii. 26 are surprising. H. Bonvier, *Die Götter in der Aeneide des Vergil*.

Krems 1890. On the influence of the gods on the epic treatment. G. A. Koch, *Schulwörterbuch zur Aeneide des P. Vergilius Maro*. Hannover 1890. 2nd edition by H. Georges. Not as much corrected as it might have been, hence the advance on the 1st edition is unimportant. H. Blümner, *Ueber die Farbenbezeichnungen bei den römischen Dichtern*. Phil. 1889, 1890. Contains much valuable illustration of V. *Die antike Aeneiskritik*. Aus den Scholien und anderen Quellen, by H. Georgii. Stuttgart 1891. A book of great diligence and acuteness.

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LIVY BY H. MÜLLER.

I. Editions. *Livius-Kommentar*, by C. Haupt. Leipzig 1891. Parts 1—5 (to Books i.—v.). Likely to secure its aim of awakening a historic sense. *T. Livii lib. ix.*, by F. Luterbacher. Leipzig 1891. The text criticism conservative. *T. Livii lib. xxi.*, by E. Wölflin. Fourth edition, Leipzig 1891. All variations from Luchs' text noted. *T. Livii lib. xxi, xxii.*, by R. Novák. Prag. 1891. Disfigured by far too many conjectures. *T. Livii ed. S. Dávid*. Vol. i. books xxi.—xxv. Budapest 1889. Shows sound judgment and good acquaintance with the literature.

II. Criticism and interpretation. W. Heraeus, *noch einmal haud impigre*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1891. To show that this expression is right in xxxii. 16, 11.

III. Lexicon, Sources, etc. *Lexicon Livianum*. F. Fügner. Fasc. iii. Lipsiae 1891. The third part reaches to *ad census*. Some remarks on the use of the Annalists by Livy in the first decade are to be found in G. F. Unger's *Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Kapitollinischen Konsultafel*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1891. J. Orendi, *M. T. Varro die Quelle zu Livius vii. 2*. Progr. Bistritz, 1891. E. von Stern, *Das Hannibalische Truppenverzeichnis bei Livius* (xxi. 22). Berlin 1891. Is of opinion that Polybius alone is the authority for *Liv.* xxi. *ed.* 21, 22. Fr. Rühl, *Lit. Centralbl.* 1890. Rejects the opinion that to Polybius is due the account of the siege of Syracuse in books xxiv., xxv. W. Soltan, *Zur Chronologie der hispanischen Feldzüge 212—208 v. c.* *Hermes* 1891. (1) L. in his account of the Spanish campaigns (books xxv.—xxix.) follows a source which gives a chronology different from that of the source elsewhere used. (2) In xxvi.—xxix. L. has not directly used Polybius. (3) L. has the information of P. through some Roman annalist. (4) This was Claudius Quadrigarius [see *Class. Rev.* vi. 381]. R. Oehler, *Sagunt und seine Belagerung durch Hannibal*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1891. A topographical study. Hannibal's march over the Alps is handled by Buchheister, *Hannibals Zug über die Alpen* 1886, W. Soltan, *Hannibals Alpenübergang*, and Ferrin, *La Marche d'Hannibal*. The last declares for the M. Cenis route. L. Traube, *Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte römischer Schriftsteller*, 1891. On Cod. Reginensis 762, written in 9th century in the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, a copy of the Puteanus. J. Vahlen, *Beiträge zur Berechtigung der fünften Dekade des Livius*. Berlin 1891. Deals with four passages at the beginning of book xlv.

CICERO'S SPEECHES, 1890—1891, by F. Luterbacher.

F. Aly, *Cicero, sein Leben und seine Schriften*. Berlin 1891. The excessive depreciation of Drumann and Mommsen avoided. Agrees rather with Boissier in his 'Cicero and his Friends.' E. Lincke, *Zur Beweisführung Ciceros in der Rede für Sextus Roscius*

aus America. Leipzig 1890. While Halm-Laubmann give this speech the praise of impartiality, L. thinks C. was not particularly careful of truth. *Ciceros Rede gegen Q. Caecilius*, by K. Hachtmann. Gotha 1891. *Discours de Cicéron contre Verrès. Div. in Q. Caecilius*, by Émile Thomas. Paris 1892. Contains many good remarks for scholars. *Ciceros Rede über das Imperium des Cn. Pompeius*, by F. Richter and A. Eberhard. 4th edition, Leipzig 1890. The commentary and appendix are much transformed and enlarged. J. Stöcklein, *De iudicio Iuniano* and F. Boll, *Num Cluentius de crimine iudicii corrupti causam dixerit*. Comment. semin. phil. Monac. 1891. Both these dissertations have reference to Bardt's programm *Zu Ciceros Cluentiana* (Neuwied 1878). O. Sculthess, *Der Prozess des C. Rabirius vom Jahre 63*. Progr. Frauenfeld 1891. Thinks that C.'s speech was delivered at the end of Labienus' proceeding against R. for a fine. *Ciceros ausgewählte Reden*, by K. Halm. Vol. iii. Die Reden gegen L. Sergius Catilina und für den Dichter Archias. 13th edition by G. Laubmann. L. has followed the later editors, C. F. W. Müller, Nohl and Kornitzer, in preferring the MSS. family α to β [*Class. Rev.* vi. 67]. Fr. Polle (N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1890) in Cat. 3,

§ 5 reads *latuerunt* for *fuertunt*. *M. Tullii Ciceronis pro Murena oratio*, ed. A. Kornitzer. Wien 1891. The text founded on C. F. W. Müller's, but K. varies in forty places. J. Bernhard, *Ueber Ciceros Rede von den Konsularprovinzen*. Progr. Dresden 1890. Berndt (Kritische Bemerkungen, Herford 1890) discusses Bro Balbo § 33. F. Becher in the Zeitsch. f.d. GSW 1891 rejects the usual interpretation of the Miloniana, § 100. *Ciceros Rede für den König Deiotarus*, by J. Strenge. Gotha 1890. Founded on C. F. W. Müller's text, but in ten places Nohl's reading is preferred. *M. Tullii Ciceronis orationes selectae*, ed. H. Nohl. Vol. vi. Philippicarum libb. i. ii. iii. Lipsiae 1891. Editio major and editio minor. The larger edition differs from the smaller in having a preface on the MSS. and a critical apparatus at the bottom of the page. *M. Tullius Ciceros erste, vierte und vierzehnte philippische Rede*, by E. K. Gast. Leipzig 1891. G. recommends the reading of these in preference to the second. The text is mainly the same as that of Teubner's text, by Klotz not by C. F. W. Müller (1886). The commentary is confined to the most necessary points.

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